University of Alberta

Representation of the Middle Easterner Muslim "Other" in American and German Editorials after September 11

by

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Abstract

Since the events of September 11, 2001, the western world has developed a deep interest in understanding the Islam and the area of the Middle East. Many American and German newspapers reflect this interest in the Middle East and its people. For this reason, this study will look at the discourse of 60 editorials published in three major American newspapers and three major German newspapers (10 each) between the years 2001 and 2005. In doing so, this study adheres to the principles of discourse analysis and melds them with some in-depth analysis of the society characteristic of critical discourse analysis with focus on the word and collocation levels. The purpose is to analyze how Middle Easterners and Muslims in general are represented in the editorial discourse. In addition to that, this study looks at the similarities and differences among the newspapers' editorials studied.

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Dedication

To

my parents, Abdullah Albakry and Kawther Altras,

with love and respect

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1. Introduction and Methodology

1.1 Introduction

The subject of this study is the representation of Middle Easterner Muslims in Western media, taking into account the obvious imbalance of power during the last two centuries and the long history of mutual misunderstanding between the two "millennial rival civilizations" (Lewis, 2002, p. 151). The study focuses on the analysis of one component of newspapers, an important realm of media, namely editorials. By adhering to the principles of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis which aim to "investigate critically social inequalities as they are expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized … in discourse" (Wodak, 2001, p. 2), this study seeks to reveal through linguistic analysis how the Middle Eastern people are represented in editorial discourse. To that end, a corpus of 30 American editorials, 10 each from three prominent American newspapers and another corpus of 30 German editorials from three prominent German newspapers were collected. Both corpora extend over a time span from 16/09/2001 until 13/09/2005 which means that all of them were written and published after the aftermath of September 11 and therefore any finding of this study is limited to this time period.

The ultimate goal of this study is to shed light on some of the discursive features, the frequency of occurrence of specific lexical items and collocation, characteristic of the representation of Middle Easterner Muslims in order to demonstrate that editors in particular and journalists in general are in need of a more efficient self-monitoring and a better understanding of the ways in which discourse operates.

1.2 Historical Background

The conflict and mutual misunderstanding of the predominately Islamic Middle East and the West goes back to the beginning of the spread of Islam and the many wars that ensued and escalated in the infamous crusades. For the past three hundred years, since the failure of the second Turkish siege of Vienna in 1683 and the rise of the European colonial empires in Asia and Africa, Islam has been on the defensive, and the Christian and post-Christian civilization of the West has brought the whole world, including Islam, within its orbit (Lewis, 1990, pp. 4-6).

The Middle Eastern countries have been under direct or indirect Western influence for the last two centuries and thus, the argument goes, this domination led to the Middle Easterners' mistrust of and suspicion in Western intentions. This argument (Lewis, 1990) however, is not complete since it rationalizes the suspicions that most Middle Easterners feel towards Western civilizations, but it does not give any elucidation for the West's antipathy or negativity towards Islam in general and Middle Easterner Muslims in particular.

The causes for the Western animosity towards Middle Easterner Muslims were researched by Edward Said (1981, p. xii) who claims that "…of no other religion or cultural grouping can it be said so assertively as it is now said of Islam that it represents a threat to Western civilization". Prominent among these causes of friction in modern times is the apparent Western (particularly U.S.) support of Israel. Chomsky (1999) showed that "the relationship between the United States and Israel has been a curious one in world affairs and American culture." Based on this peculiar relationship, the United States tends to take the side of Israel in the Israeli- Arabic conflict. It is surprising that the

Western media and particularly the American rarely acknowledge or analyze this bias. As a result of this situation, the U.S foreign policy tilt is implicitly absorbed into much of their reporting of the conflict (Dunsky, 2001).

Some scholars also claim that the recent confrontation between the West and Islam in general and the Muslim Middle East in particular can be traced back to the end of the cold war and the "threat vacuum" that ensued (Esposito, 1992, p. 7). Furthermore, certain recent events in the Middle East have added to the negative stereotypes already in place about the region and its people. Some examples of these recent events are the Arab oil embargo of 1973, the overthrow of a prominent ally (the Iranian Shah), and the turmoil that followed, and perhaps most importantly the terrorist acts of September 11 2001.

Other scholars like Said (1978, 1981) and Karim (2003) trace the roots of the tension further back and argue that the conflict between the Occident (West) and the Orient which they used to refer to the Islamic Middle East never took a halt even during the cold war era as is implied in Esposito's argument. For both of them, the fact that the West had been pitted against the Soviet Union for most of the twentieth century meant a reordering of the ways in which global conflict was constructed and not an end of the conflict between the West and the Middle East.

Said (1978) in particular correlates between the Western colonization of the Middle East and the establishment of Orientalism. For him, Orientalism demarcates how the West has created an incorrect, heavily biased systematic knowledge of the Orient for political, economic and social purposes. The Orient has been defined as the antithesis of everything European (or Western). Thus, the Orient loses its intrinsic, self-determined value and becomes a counterfeit identity that only accentuates the genuineness of the Occidental. Overly exaggerated and false perceptions of the Orient, Said argues, are promulgated and embedded in the works of government officials and media - be it wittingly or unwittingly, consciously or subconsciously.

The vast body of studies conducted in Orientalism paved the way for the media coverage of the region and determined the lenses through which the media proceeded in covering the events of the Middle East and also the extensive use of negative references which are derived from the lexicon of Orientalists. A good example for the media's adoption of the Orientalists' lexical references is the word "Islamic" which might seem neutral. As Said (1993, p. 64) noted, however, whereas "the word *Muslim* is less provocative and more habitual for most Arabs; the world *Islamic* has acquired an activist, even aggressive quality that belies the more ambiguous reality" (emphasis in original).

In an earlier work Said (1987, pp. 213-214) makes the case that the media coverage, especially the journalistic one, of the Middle East is replete with clichés and certain "essential thematic clusters" that are driven from the lexical dictionary of Orientalists. These clusters are identified as follows:

- The pervasive presence of Middle Eastern, more particularly Arab or Islamic terrorism. Terrorism is always depicted as congenital and not as having any foundation in prior violence or continuing conflict.
- The Rise of Islamic and Muslim fundamentalism in the Middle East.
- The Middle East as a place whose violent and incomprehensible events are routinely referred back to a distant past full of ancient tribal, religious, or ethnic hatred.

- The Middle East as a contested site in which "our" side is represented by the civilized and democratic West.
- The Middle East as a locale for the re-emergence of a virulent quasi-European (i.e. Nazi) type of anti-Semitism.

Along the same vein, Rosow (1990, p. 294) argued that what is now shown by the media as a conflict between the forces of civilization and barbarism has deep cultural roots in the Eurocentric world view. According to him, there are three types of narratives characteristic of the process of internationalization and hence media coverage of the Middle Eastern Other: the barbarian, the heretic, and the primitive. The three narrative types are not new by any means but are merely historic stereotypes dating back to the Middle Ages and the religiously inspired conflicts between the Middle East and the West known as the crusades and were exacerbated during the colonization period due to the need for justifications and pretexts to justify the aggression. These narrative types have been integrated into contemporary global media coverage which views the West as the domain of rationality, order and democracy, whereas the Middle East is usually portrayed as that of irrationality, instability, and tyranny. The existence of negative narrative types about other cultures or regions is not specific to the relationship between the West and the Middle East, but what is peculiar is how these narrative types survived several centuries and were adapted to fit different eras.

Against this brief background, the aim of this study will be the analysis of the representation of the Middle Eastern Muslims and whether the above mentioned thematic clusters are realized in the editorial discourse of six major American and German newspapers. First, however, it is appropriate to shed light on the methodology followed in collecting the corpora.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Overview of the Corpus Design

Based on their usually argumentative or persuasive intent, the editorials represent a journalistic category of their own. They "exert a powerful influence on public attention to the issues, problems, and opportunities that confront each community" (McCombs, 1997, p. 433). Along the same lines, Le (2002 a, b) showed that the study of editorials can unravel the newspaper's perspective on human rights issues through commenting on the war in Chechnya, or the newspaper's position on the enlargement of the European Union.

The universe of newspaper editorial discourse, however, even when confined to only six newspapers, is still large. The first step, therefore, is to define that universe of discourse in order to draw a valid and reliable sample of it that can adequately represent sufficient linguistic data (Bell, 1991, p. 10). I chose to focus on the language of three influential newspapers published in the US: the *New York Times (NYT)*, the *Washington Post (the Post)*, and the *Christian Science Monitor (CSM)* and another three published in Germany: *die Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, *die Welt*, and *die Zeit*. The selected newspapers are representative of the print media of two powerful and different Western countries.

By circulation, two of the chosen American newspapers (*New York Times*, *Washington Post*) are among the top American newspapers and they are also among the most prestigious newspapers in the US. The reported circulation[1] of the *Times* for the year ending Dec. 26, 2004 was 1,124,700 Weekdays and 1,669,700 Sundays. As for the *Post's* circulation, it was estimated by the Audit Bureau of Circulation[2] at 707,690 for Weekdays and 1,007,487 for Sundays for the same year. The *Monitor* is a well-respected newspaper in American media circles. However, since it is only a subscription-based newspaper, the *Monitor's* circulation is significantly less than both the *Times* and the *Post* being estimated by the Newspaper Association of America at 71,000 for the same period. However, the *Monitor* enjoys a large presence online with an estimated 1.7 million visitors per month to its website.[3]

As for the chosen German newspapers, they are considered to be among the most widely read and influential newspapers in that country. The circulation of *die Süddeutsche Zeitung* was estimated by the IVW[4] (Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern) for the first month of 2005 at 465, 000 a day. As for the circulation of *die Welt* it was estimated by the same organization for the same period at 244,242 a day. Finally, the circulation of *die Zeit* (issued once a week) was estimated by the same organization for the same time period at 465,000 for its weekly edition issued on Thursday.

The corpora for this study are coherent in that all the newspapers represented in them are daily (except for *die Zeit* which is a weekly newspaper) with distribution for a mass audience. The reason for choosing both the *Christian Science Monitor* and *die Zeit*, given the fact that the *Monitor* has a comparatively limited circulation compared with the other two American newspapers and that *die Zeit* is a weekly newspaper, has to do with the coalescence between both of them in terms of the in-depth analysis of events and the intellectual readership that both try to address. The choice of both newspapers is meant to enrich the study by researching whether there is a variation in the representation of the Middle East among newspapers with different circulation and different readership or whether the representation is quite monolithic.

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[1] http://www.nytco.com/company-properties-times.html#nyt
[2] http://www.ifabc.org/
[3] http://www.naa.org
[4] http://ivwonline.de/home/start.php

To accomplish the task of comparing the editorial discourse of the newspapers chosen for the study, as well as to ensure the reliability and validity of the analysis, it is imperative to use a corpus with a reasonable size. The combined corpus of American and German editorials is composed of approximately 40533 words with an average of 675 words in each editorial, a size which was deemed adequate for the present study. Two of the major decisions entailed in collecting the corpus included the time period that the sample covers, and the days to be sampled within that period.

The collection of newspaper texts for this study was restricted to texts (i.e. editorials) published between the sixteenth of September 2001 and the thirtieth of September 2005. It is important to mention that only the dates of the first and the last editorials were determined but not those in-between. This time frame was chosen because it starts with the beginning of editorializing and commenting after the upheaval of September 11 and ends with the inauguration of the Iraqi Navy after its complete destruction three years earlier, during the war.

To avoid over-representing certain kinds of content, the data from the represented newspapers accessed through Factiva, which is an electronic database for news and business services owned jointly by Dow Jones & Company and Reuters that allows access to the databases of numerous newspapers in almost all languages, was collected randomly. This means that certain keywords were typed each time (Middle East, Middle Easterners, Muslims, Arab, Iraq, and Palestine). The results were limited to only editorials and excluded news reportage. Out of the collected editorials only ten were chosen randomly from each newspaper as representative. This random choice entailed a sample consisting of every fifth editorial out of the ones collected. Table 1.1 gives the details about the composition of the corpus used in the study.

Table 1 Number of Texts and Words in the Corpus

Text type	**Text source**	**No. of texts**	**No. of words**
Written	**New York Times**	10	7124
Written	**Washington Post**	10	5565
Written	**Christian Science Monitor**	10	5796
Written	**die Süddeutsche Zeitung**	10	5900
Written	**die Welt**	10	6311
Written	**die Zeit**	10	9837
		Total **60**	**Total** **40533**

Because the data contains many editorials written by a variety of columnists, there is some degree of variation in the use of linguistic features due to each writer's individual style. Moreover, in the case of institutional editorials, there are no by-lines (40% of the collected texts) to indicate who wrote the editorials since they are written by the editorial board of a given newspaper and are meant to represent the newspaper's view. There are 5 signed editorials in the *Times* dating back to (30/09/2005), (28/09/2005), (23/01/2005), (13/03/2005), (19/01/2005), 1 in the *Post* dating back to (29/09/2005), and none in the *Monitor*. As for the German corpus, there are 5 signed editorials in *die SDZ* (03/12/2001), (16/09/2001), (23/10/2001), (11/11/2004), (09/10/2001), 10 in *die Welt* (13/08/2005), (09/07/2005), (19/08/2005), (15/04/2003), (19/03/2002), (30/07/2003), (22/04/2003), (19/09/2003), (16/04/2003), (18/11/2004), and 3 in *die Zeit*(03/07/2003), (18/06/2003), (24/06/2003). These factors ensure that the effect of a particular writer's ideology does not significantly influence the results. Besides, the fact that newspaper editorials are subject to a rigorous process of editing and revision to conform to the newspaper's particular style and (sometimes) point of view minimizes the possibility of over-representing any one writer's style or view in particular.

1.3.2 Procedures and Steps in the Analysis

The study is based on carefully constructed corpora of language data comparing the editorial discourse of different American and German newspapers. The approach is empirical in that it is based on analyzing language features in actual texts, but it combines both quantitative and qualitative techniques: quantitative in so far as the frequencies of certain linguistic features are counted and compared across newspapers; and qualitative in that detailed analyses are used to interpret the distributional patterns in functional terms.

The different newspapers are taken as the independent variable or contextual factors and the dependent variable or focus of investigation is the linguistic features selected for investigation. I search the corpora for the occurrence of specific lexical items that can be categorized as negative or positive as well as the collocations with any signifier of the Self on the one hand, or the Middle Eastern Other on the other hand. The search is performed using a commercial concordancing package called Monoconc Pro 2.0, a software program that searches for words, phrases and outputs all occurrences of such searches in a stretch of discourse (Barlow, 2000). The frequency of the selected features will be obtained through automatic searches with manual screening when necessary. All counts are given as raw counts in the corpus and are thus comparable. When needed, the variation between the newspapers is tested for significance. The test used in some parts of the results and analysis sections is the chi-square ($\chi2$) test, which gives the level of probability of the deviation observed in the data being due to chance alone or not. The $\chi2$ values in the results are considered for significance at 0.05 level, which means that if the differences were due to chance, then the observed figures would only be expected to occur in 5% of the possible cases.

In conducting this research, the study adheres to the principles of discourse analysis (DA) combining it with some features of critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework for interpreting the results.

1.3.3 Theoretical Framework

Discourse analysis (DA) is best described as the study of talk and texts. It is a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social contexts

(Wetherell et al., 2001, p. I). In other words, discourse analysis can be portrayed as the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used (McCarthy, 1991, p. 5). Therefore, it aims at setting the linguistic event in a communicative context.

As for critical discourse analysis (CDA), it has its roots in critical linguistics, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the descriptions of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced (Teo, 2000). The term "critical" added to both linguistics and to discourse analysis was first coined by Fowler et al. (1979) in their seminal book *language and control*. The rationale behind coining such a term was to differentiate between the descriptive linguistics disciplines common in that time and their attempt to start a new linguistic branch that searches the relations between signs, meanings, and the social and historical conditions which govern the semiotic structure of discourse (Fowler, 1991, p. 5).

A comprehensive definition of what is meant by CDA is given by Wodak (2001, p. 2) who defined it as a field "… fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)".

For CDA language is constitutive of social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1995 a, p. 55). Against this background, CDA sets to unmask:

(I) the relationship between language and society,

(II) the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258).

Both DA and CDA postulate that language gains power in the hands of the powerful which means that language is not powerful "per se" (Wodak, 1989, p. xv). For this reason they focus on the language produced by those in power.

Adhering to the principles of DA and melding them with some in-depth analysis of the society characteristic of CDA, this study concentrates on the word and collocation levels in the discourse of American and German editorials on Middle Easterners and analyzes this representation within the historical and societal perspective of the intrinsic relationship between the West and the Middle East.

2. Analysis of the American Corpus

2.1 Introduction

The corpus of the American editorials is gathered from three newspapers: the *New York Times (NYT)*, the *Washington Post (WP)*, and the *Christian Science Monitor (CSM)*. The following section reviews the journalistic background of the American newspapers covered in the study.

The *New York Times* was founded on Sep 18, 1851 by Henry Javis Raymond and George Jones. In 1896 it was acquired by Adolph Ochs. Nowadays, the *Times* is published in New York City and owned by The New York Times Company, in which descendants of Adolph Ochs, principally the Sulzberger family, play a dominant role (Berger, 1951, pp. 2-102). Today the *New York Times* is probably the most prominent American daily newspaper, sometimes being referred to as the "Grey Lady" or America's newspaper of record.[5]

As for the *Washington Post*, it was established in 1877 by Stein Hutchins. In 1905 a controlling interest was purchased by the owner of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, John R. Mclean. Then, it was purchased again in a bankruptcy auction in 1933 by Eugene Meyer. Henceforth, the *Washington Post* has been under the influence of members of the Meyer's family.[6]

Unlike the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, the ownership of the *Christian Science Monitor* has been in the hands of its patron church, the First Church of Christ, Scientist, since its inception in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy. Despite the name and the relationship with the patron church, everything in the *Monitor* is related to international and US news and features, except for one religious article that has appeared each day in the Home Forum section since 1908, at the request of the paper's founder.[7]

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[5] Official history of the Times.

[6] Timeline of the history of the *Washington Post*.

As for the political orientation of the three newspapers, the *Times* is considered to have a liberal orientation. In a study of media coverage over the last 10 years by Tim Groseclose and Jeffrey Milyo (2005), the *Times* was the third most liberal of twenty major media outlets in the United Staes. Likewise, the *Post* has a long history of presenting and adopting liberal values. That is why it is not surprising within this context to know that the *Post* was the first paper in Washington D.C. to abandon the practice of routinely labeling African Americans by race in all stories (Bray, 1980, pp. 159-160). The third and last American newspaper covered in this study is the *Christian Science Monitor*. In spite of the name and the association with its patron church, the *Monitor* was not founded to be religiously orientated. The seeds of the *Monitor's* uniqueness are planted in its nonprofit organization structure. This structure allows the *Monitor* to be a neutral paper devoid of affiliations with political Parties (Canham, 1958).

The last point worth mentioning here is that unlike the *Times* and the *Post* which have their headquarters respectively in the financial metropolitan -New York City- and the political capital -Washington D.C.-, the *Monitor* is located in Boston which is regarded as the U.S.'s educational headquarters due to the large number of universities located there.

2.2 Corpus Design

After the previous brief orientation, it is necessary to shed light on the composition of the American corpus in more detail before providing the analysis. The actual analysis will follow after shedding some light on the nature of the corpus used for this study. The overall corpus contains approximately 18,485 words with an average of 616 words in each editorial. The editorials cover a wide range of events and developments that took place in the Middle East. One of the main events covered is the situation in Iraq along with the new constitution being written there. Moreover, the situations in both Saudi Arabia and Egypt (both close allies of the United States) are being highlighted due to the death of the late Saudi king and the recent Egyptian presidential elections. Among the topics highlighted in the corpus is the Israeli Palestinian conflict, the crisis in Lebanon as well as Abu Ghraib prison scandal. As mentioned in the introduction, the linguistic analysis will focus on the occurrence of specific lexical items that can be categorized as either negative or positive as well as the collocations with any signifier of the Self on the one hand, or the Middle Eastern Other on the other hand.

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[7] Official information about the Monitor.

2.3 Frequency of Occurrence of Specific Lexical Items

The evaluative character of a word is called its semantic orientation. A positive semantic orientation indicates praise or desirability and a negative semantic orientation implies criticism or undesirability (Turney & Littman, 2003, p. 1). To put it in other words, many words communicate the writer's or the speaker's evaluation of the topic discussion as desirable or undesirable. This study will adopt Turney and Littman's labeling of this evaluative character of words as semantic orientation. Accordingly, the analysis below will tabulate the frequency of words with positive semantic and negative semantic orientation in each of the three newspapers. The two tables below (table 2 and table 3) illustrate the results of counting the numbers of occurrences of all positive and negative words.

Table 2 Occurrences of Positive Words

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Characteristics of good governing[8]					
Democracy/ Democratic	23	Democracy/ Democratic	11	Democracy/ Democratic	45
Legitimacy/ Legitimate	3	Legitimate	3	Legitimacy/ Legitimate	5
Pluralistic	1	Liberal/ Liberalization/ Liberalize	6	Pluralism	2
Pro-democracy	1			Credibility	2
Vibrant	1			Modernization	1
				Progressive	1
				Prosperity	1
				Stability	3
				Liberalization	1
Freedom and sovereignty					
Independence/ Independent	8	Free/ Freedom	9	Liberty/ Liberties	3
Self-determination	1	Independence/ Independent	5	Sovereign/ Sovereignty	11

---

[8] Good governing is interpreted here in terms of western standards.

Table 2 Occurrences of Positive Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
		Liberty	5		
Positive characteristics					
Compassionate	1	Idealism	1	Peaceful	3
Courageous	1	Peace/ Peaceful	8		
Decent	2	Decent	1		
Dedicated	1				
Heroic	1				
Impressive	1				
Peaceful	3				
Self-restraint	1				
Resistance					
Defend/ Defending	3	Defend/ Defenders	2	Defenders	1
Patriots	1			Fighters	3
Hope					
blossom	1	Hope/ Hopes	3	Democratizing	3
Optimism	1	Positive	4		
Outbursts	1	Reformers/ Reforms	5		
Dialogue and anti-violence					
Antiterrorism	1	Dialogue	1	Anti-terrorism	1
				Antiviolence	1

Table 2 Occurrences of Positive Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
				Discussion	2
Total positive words	**57**		**64**		**89**
Total words in corpus	**7124**		**5565**		**5796**
Percentage of positive words in total corpus	**0.80**		**1.15**		**1.53**
Chi-square (χ2)			**=15.0492**		

Table 2 above is divided into six categories: "characteristics of good governing", "freedom and sovereignty", "positive characteristics", "resistance", "hope", as well as "dialogue and anti-violence". It is noteworthy to mention that the words are grouped in these categories depending on the commonality among them. By far the "characteristics of governing" is the category with most occurrences across the three newspapers. It is followed by "freedom and sovereignty" and then by "positive characteristics". There are not many differences in the occurrences of words under the three remaining categories – "resistance", "hope", "dialogue and anti-violence"- except for the category "hope" in the *WP* which contains 12 occurrences.

By analyzing the results of table 2 above, we find that the occurrences of positive words in each of the three papers are fewer than 100. The corpus of the *Christian Science Monitor* comes at the top of the list of the occurrences of positive words followed by that of the *Washington Post* and then the *New York Times*. The overall difference among the three newspapers is statistically significant as exemplified by the chi-square ($\chi2$) test that has a value of more than 15. On a one to one level, the difference between the *Times* and the *Post* is significant with a chi-square value of (3.97). Also, the difference between the *Times* and the *Monitor* is significant with a chi-square value of (15.11), whereas the difference between the *Post* and the *Monitor* is not significant with a chi-square value of (3.09).This indicates that the differences of the occurrences of positive words among the three newspapers, except for the difference between the *Post* and the *Monitor*, are unlikely to have happened by pure chance.

The most common words in the table above are *democracy* and *democratic*. This can be traced back to the nature of the topics covered when commenting on the Middle East. Most editorials concentrated on either the efforts done or the pressure that should be exercised on many of the countries of the Middle East to adopt more democratic values and systems congruent with those applied in the United States.

The category "positive characteristics" shows that the word "peaceful" occurs in the three newspapers: 8 times in the editorials of the *Post* and 3 times in both the *Times* and the *Monitor*. However, "peaceful" has been used to describe what the situation or the politics should be or the change of the situation as a result of American intervention. For example: "the new rules of peaceful politics" [Afghanistan] *NYT* (22/09/2005), "peaceful – transfer of Power" [Iraq] CSM (29/06/204), and "The old forces of the Middle East -- founded on autocracy, Islamic extremism and terrorism -- are facing off in Lebanon against its brand-new one, based on liberal values and peaceful people power" *WP* (08/03/2005). Additionally, the *Times* has the largest number of words under the aforementioned category. These words were used to refer either to American actions or to people who are supporters of American actions or values: " the people's will for a modern, decent Iraq" (23/01/2005), "Egypt's impressive new minister of foreign trade" [signed a trade treaty with Israel](13/03/2005), "some courageous Sunnis have begun to speak out" (28/09/2005). The only exception is the word "compassionate" which was used to refer to some Muslims' understanding of Islam: "those who want to wall Islam off from modernity, and defend it with a suicide cult, and those who want to bring Islam into the 21st century and preserve it as a compassionate faith" (23/01/2005).

The occurrences of the words (liberalize, liberalization, liberty) are most prominent in the *Washington Post.* In addition to that the word "liberal" was mentioned five times in the *Washington Post.* Although "liberty" is different from the other two words, it is categorized with them in the sentences below in order to make easier for the reader.

1. "Mr. Mubarak could liberalize upcoming parliamentary elections" (04/09/2004)
2. "Mr. Mubarak's refusal to liberalize the political system" (18/01/2005),
3. "Reformers (in Saudi Arabia) who call for religious and political liberalization" (01/07/2004)
4. "He (Mr. Mubarak) has emerged as the most outspoken and uncompromising opponent of Mr. Bush's call for Arab liberalization" (18/01/2005)
5. "The old forces of the Middle East – founded on autocracy, Islamic extremism and terrorism –are facing off in Lebanon against its brand new one – based on liberal values" (08/03/2005)

6. "Autocrats (in the Middle East) calculating how much liberty is necessary to satisfy Washington" (04/09/2005)
7. "President Bush denounced stability at the price of liberty in the Middle East" (01/07/2004)
8. "Saudi Arabia's affronts to religious liberty" (19/09/2004)
9. "The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands" (21/01/2005)

What can be inferred from the sentences above is that the *Post* is for the active engagement in the region's internal affairs. That active engagement is to take place even at the cost of the region's stability as stressed in sentence number seven above. Quite striking is sentence number six which denotes that the so-called autocrats want to liberalize their countries to the limit that satisfy Washington and not their own people and thus giving the impression that Washington alone is the driving force behind liberalizing the Middle East. Perhaps more striking is what was termed as Bush's call for Arab liberalization in the fourth example, but what was not mentioned was that the first step towards that call was destroying and occupying one of the biggest countries in the Middle East, namely Iraq. There was no mention of the American occupation of Iraq either explicitly or implicitly in this editorial dating back to (18/01/2005) even though that occupation had begun around the 20th of March 2003. What is even more obvious is the antithesis in the fifth sentence between liberal values on the one hand and the old forces in the Middle East portrayed as autocratic, extremist and terrorist on the other hand. The antithesis maximizes the superiority of Western liberal values as it stands in face of backward values. The irony of this sentence is that it refers to a country – Lebanon –

whose 22 presidents since the declaration of the republic in 1926 until now have been Maronite Christians because of a democratic power sharing arrangement whereby the president is always a Christian and the prime minister a Sunnite Muslim (Encyclopedia Britannica).

It is noteworthy that the word "fighter" was mentioned in three occasions in the editorials of the *Christian Science Monitor* "Al Qaeda-tied fighters" (30/06/2005), "Islamic fighters" (30/06/2005), and "Bush paints all such fighters as a seamless enemy" (30/06/2005) when referring to groups opposed to the Americans in Iraq. This word was never used in the editorials of the other two newspapers when referring to those groups fighting against American interests in any part of the Middle East. Rather they are consistently referred to, as the table below illustrates, as *insurgents*, *terrorists*, *extremists*, or *jihadists*.

Another point illustrated by the table above is that the word "heroic" was used only in the *Times* and only one time: "The election in January, heroic though it was, will not be enough to make Iraq a functioning democracy" (23/02/2005). Even in this time it referred to the election in Iraq. It is not a secret that this election was initiated and organized by the American representatives in Iraq. Although it is undeniable that organizing election under the chaotic circumstances of Iraq is definitely not an easy task, still there is no obvious justification given for terming the election in Iraq as heroic especially if we take into account that the organizers of this election are the ones responsible for the chaos.

Moreover, it was the *Christian Science Monitor* that tackled the American credibility and democracy three times in its editorials:

1. "One of America's biggest problems in Iraq is its enormous credibility gap with Iraqis" (28/05/2004).
2. "Bush might have taken this step simply to gain credibility in Europe to allow him to win UN economic sanctions against Iran" (14/03/ 2005).
3. "The arduous task of creating a constitutional Iraqi government from scratch has been slow and not fully embraced by an American democracy that itself has become impatient and has grown more divisive under the uncompromising partisanship of current US politics" (30/06/2005).

The point of view adopted by the newspaper in the first example was that of the need to increase American credibility in the Middle East to remedy the administration's mistakes – notably the occupation of Iraq. The second example implies that American credibility in Europe is low. The third example brings to light the *Monitor*'s criticism of the current American politics and the dissension within the American democracy as a result of the slow progress in Iraq. This example is in sharp contrast to the *Post*'s position. Whereas the sentences taken from the *Post* showed the *Post*'s enthusiasm about the administration's interference in the internal affairs of the Middle East for the sake of spreading liberalism and democracy, the third example from the *Monitor* shows the *Monitor*'s questioning of the current state of American democracy.

Additionally, the words (sovereign, and sovereignty) were mentioned 11 times in the *Monitor* but never in either the *Times* or the *Post*. For example,

1. "The handover of limited sovereignty to Iraqis didn't happen on June 30, as promised" (29/06/2004)

2. "President Bush widened that disconnect this week by promising "full sovereignty" to an interim government, but the rhetorical insistence that Iraqis will enjoy "full sovereignty" when a mere look down the street would indicate otherwise is foolish" emphasis in the editorial (28/05/2004)
3. " The resolution put forth by Washington and London has been criticized for not living up to the sovereignty promise" (28/05/2004)
4. "The most important step toward full sovereignty will be the interim government" (28/05/2004)
5. " The US needs to bring about the speedy transfer of real sovereignty in Iraq to an authority more legitimate than its own" (13/01/2005)
6. "Will the US be prepared to hand over sovereign power in Iraq to a duly elected leadership" (13/01/2005)
7. "Back in 1996, Palestinians were excited to take part in an election for PA head because they knew this person would then negotiate the sovereignty with Israel" (13/01/2005)
8. "During the process of transferring sovereignty, the US (and Israel) need to convey - and also model - two of the key "big ideas" behind any true theory of democracy: the need to resolve differences through discussion, rather than violence; and a complete respect for the rights of others, including - crucially - those with whom we disagree" emphasis in editorial (13/01/2005)
9. "It [the Iraqi interim government] should use the spotlight for a key purpose: to publicly and vigorously prepare for elections - which not only puts Iraq on the path to true sovereignty, but true legitimacy, as well" (28/05/2004)

10. "Both [Afghanistan and Iraq] have foreign armies of significant size on their sovereign soil" (25/08/2005)

The ten above mentioned examples, which contain 11 occurrences of the words (sovereign and sovereignty), shed light on the *Monitor*'s stance regarding the Iraqi issue. The position of the *Monitor* is magnified in the fifth sentence which implicitly denotes that American authority in Iraq is at least not the most legitimate type of authority. All ten sentences stress the fact that Iraq is no longer a sovereign nation, but rather a country under occupation. No mitigation or euphemism was utilized.

Also, the *Monitor* has four occurrences under the category "dialogue and anti-violence", whereas both the *Post* and the *Times* have one occurrence each under the same category. For example, there were two instances of the word "discussion" in the *Monitor*: "The US and Israel need to convey – and also model – two of the key big ideas behind any true theory of democracy: the need to resolve differences through discussion, rather than violence; and a complete respect for the rights of others" (13/01/2005), and "One key task is to urge both leaderships [Palestinian and Israeli] to engage in a reasoned discussion of their differences" (13/01/2005). The most important feature of the two sentences is that they urge not only Middle Eastern leaders to engage in dialogue and discussion, as is usually the case, but most importantly Americans and Israelis are urged to resolve the differences through peaceful means. Thus, the two sentences recognize the excessive use of power by both countries. Additionally, the *Monitor* used the word "antiviolence" not to refer to what Middle Easterners should do but strikingly enough to denote what American soldiers in Iraq should do: "Will the US be able to end its own troops' use of escalatory violence during the handover to an elected Iraqi authority? The antiviolence part of the theory of democracy indicates that it should" (13/01/2005). As for the *Post* the word "dialogue" was mentioned once in the sentence "He [the American ambassador in Saudi Arabia] had an adequate opportunity to dialogue with the Saudis" (19/09/2004). The sentence shows that the representative of the United States is the actor who had the opportunity to engage in dialogue with the Other (the Saudis). As for the *Times* there was one reference to "antiterrorism" in the case of "the nature of detainees taken in antiterrorism operations" (10/09/2005). Even in that sole case, the reference was just to the name used by the American administration when referring to its detainees in Guantanamo.

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
		Attacks and murders			
Atrocities	3	Aggressive	1	Assassinate/ Assassinations	2
Attack, Attacks	3	Assassination, s	2	Attacks	6
Butchering	1	Attack, s	2	Beheadings	1
Murder/ Murdering/ Murderous	4	Beheading	1	Murder	1
Brutal/ Brutalize	3	Brutal	1	Bombings	1

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Carnage	1	Murder	1	Brandishing	1
Cleansing	2	Slay	1		
Suicide	3	Suicide	1		
Murder/Murdering/ Murderous	4	Beheading	1	Murder	1
Brutal/ Brutalize	3	Brutal	1	Bombings	1
Carnage	1	Murder	1	Brandishing	1
Cleansing	2	Slay	1		
Suicide	3	Suicide	1		
Bomber/bombers	3	Bomb, Bombs	2		
Characteristics of bad governing[9]					
Autocrats	1	Autocracy, Autocracies	2	Authoritarian	4
Baathist	2	Autocratic	2	Autocratic	1
Corruption	1	Autocrats	4	Autocrats	1
Dictators/ Dictatorship	2	Corruption	1	Baathist	2
Dynastic	1	Dictator, s	4	Dictatorship	2
Dysfunctional	1	Dictator-dominated	1	Pharaoh-like	1
Nasserities	1	Dictatorial	1	Puppet[10]	1

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[9] Bad governing is interpreted here as the opposite of liberal democracy.

[10] "Despite the pressure to withdraw from Lebanon, Syria has only moved its troops away from the capital, where a puppet president is trying to retain Syrian influence" *CSM* (12/03/2005).

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Dysfunctional	1	Dictator-dominated	1	Pharaoh-like	1
Nasserities	1	Dictatorial	1	Theocracy	1
Nepotism	1	Dictatorship	2		
Proxies	1	Ineptitude	1		
Repression	2	Oppression	2		
Suppression	2	Persecution	1		
Strife-torn	1	Repression	1		
Raucous	1	Rubber-stamp[11]	1		
Rampant	2	Suffocating	1		
Repugnant	1	Suppressed	1		
Sheik	2	Theocratic	1		
		Totalitarian	1		
		Tyranny/ Tyrant	5		
Extremism					
Extremism	1	Extreme/Extremism /Extremists	7	Fascism	1
Fascism/ Fascists	5	Fundamentalist	1	Islamist/Islamists	4
Islamist	1	Radical	3	Radical, Radicals	2
Jihadists	1	Terrorism	6	Terrorism	5
Martyrdom	1	Terrorist/Terrorists	4	Terrorist/Terrorists	14

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[11] "President Hosni Mubarak has obtained unanimous approval from one chamber of his rubber-stamp legislature for his new plan for presidential elections" *WP* (08/03/2005).

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Terrorism	5	Sectarian	2		
Terrorist/ Terrorists	5	Bigotry	1		
Sectarian	1				
		Animosity to the West			
Anti-American	3	Anti-American	1	Anti-Americanism	1
Anti-Israeli	1	Anti-Israeli	1		
Enemy/ Enemies	2				
Infidel	1				
Demagoguery[12]	1				
		Menace and fighting			
battered	1	Insurgency/ insurgent	10	Guerrillas	1
Insurgency/Insurgents	12	Mafia	1	Insurgency	1
malevolent	1	Militants	3	Insurgents	3
Battered	1	Insurgency/ insurgent	10	Guerrillas	1
Insurgency/Insurgents	12	Mafia	1	Insurgency	1

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[12] "The Bush administration has wisely, albeit reluctantly, agreed to go along with France and the United Nations on this course. This weakens Hezbollah's anti-American demagoguery and makes supporting Syria's presence harder" *NYT* (13/03/2005).

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Malevolent	1	Militants	3	Insurgents	3
Militant	1	Militia, Militias	3	Militants	1
Militia, Militias	3	Violations	1	Militia	4
Violence/ Violent	4	Violence/ Violent	6	Violence/ Violent	10
		Beleaguered	1		
		Crude[13]	1		
		Ruthlessly	1		
Crises and escalation					
Chaos	2	Conflict	1	Conflict	1
Catastrophic	1	Disarray	1	Escalatory	2
Conflict	1	Disaster	1		
Crisis	1	Escalation	1		
Debacle	1	Turmoil	1		
Turbulence	1	Destruction	1		
Destroy/ Destructive	4	Deteriorates	1		
		Devastated	1		
		Shattered	1		
		Nightmarish	1		

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[13] "There is no sign that the crude and callow tyrant [Syrian President] gets the message" *WP* (03/03/2005).

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Injustices					
Delegitimize	1	Fraudulent	1	Illegal	1
Delegitimize	1	Fraudulent	1	Illegal	1
Illegal	1	Illegal	1	Illegalities	1
Injustices	1	Lopsided	2	Outlawed	1
Lawless	1				
Outlaw	1				
Phony[14]	1				
Injustices	1				
Intimidate	1				
Interferences					
Intervention	2			Intervention	1
				Invasion	2
				Occupation	4
Crimes, shame and denunciations					
Crimes	1	Beleaguered	1	Harassment	1
Dangerous	2	Denounced	1	Abuses	1
Denunciations	1	Deprive	1		
Notorious	1	Dishonorable	1		

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[14] “The Bush administration has bet it could outlast public outrage with phony investigations and stonewalling” *NYT* (10/09/2005).

Table 3 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

NYT	n	WP	n	CSM	n
Shameful	2	Darkest	1		
Sterile	1				
Torture	2				
Total negative words	**131**		**117**		**86**
Total words in corpus	**7124**		**5565**		**5796**
Percentage of negative words in total corpus	**1.88**		**2.14**		**1.50**
Chi-square (χ2)	**= 6.27**				

Table 3 above is divided into 9 categories: "attacks and murders", "characteristics of bad governing", "extremism, animosity to the West", "menace and fighting", "crises and escalation", "injustices", "interferences", as well as "crimes, shame and denunciations". The grouping of words under the afore-mentioned categories is based on commonalities among these words. The four categories with the largest numbers of occurrences are "extremism", "menace and fighting", "characteristics of bad governing", and "attacks" with 70, 69, 67, and 50 occurrences respectively. The six remaining categories have less than 25 occurrences each. The two categories with the least occurrences are "religious statements" and "interferences" with 4 and 9 occurrences respectively. The remaining four categories "animosity to the West", "injustices", "crimes, shame and denunciation", and "crises and escalation" have occurrences of 11, 15, 19, and 24 respectively.

Table 3 above shows that two of the three newspapers (the *Times* and the *Post*) contain more than one hundred negative words in reference to the Middle Eastern Other. One clear distinction shown in table 3, however, is that between the percentages of the occurrences of negative words among the three newspapers with the *Post* on top followed by the *Times* and then the *Monitor* in the third place. Additionally, the chi-square test shows that the distribution of the occurrences of negative words in the three newspapers is statistically significant since the value of the chi-square is (6.27). This means that the differences in the occurrences of negative words across the three newspapers as a whole are more than likely not the result of pure chance. Furthermore, the chi-square test has shown that the distribution of negative words between the *Times* and the *Post* is not significant with a chi-square value of (1.02). Likewise, the distribution between the *Times* and the *Monitor* is not significant with a chi-square value of (2.65), whereas the distribution of negative words between the *Post* and the *Monitor* is significant with a chi-square value of (6.24). This means that unlike the distribution of the positive words, which has been proved to be significant between the *Times* and the *Post* as well as between the *Times* and the *Monitor*, the distribution of negative words is significant only between the *Post* and the *Monitor*. Perhaps, the best way to illustrate the differences in the occurrences of positive and negatives words among the three newspapers is to show these differences in a chart. Figure 2.1 below shows the percentages of the occurrences of positive and negative words in the three newspapers.

Figure 2.1 Percentages of Positive and Negative Words

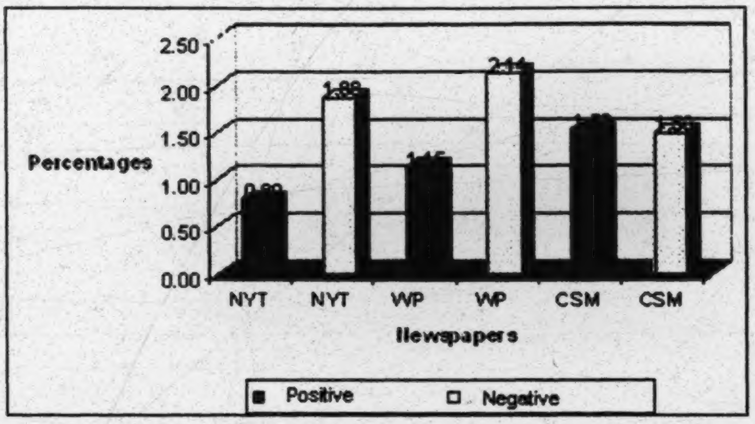

Figure 2.1 shows that the *Post* is the newspaper with the highest percentage of negative words. It is followed by the *Times* and by the *Monitor*. As for the occurrences of positive words, the *Monitor* occupies the first place and is followed by the *Post* and the *Times*.

One more point that table 3 above sheds light on is that two of the three newspapers (the *Times* and the *Monitor*) make use of the adjective "Islamist" when referring to the affiliation of groups or movements in the Middle East; although it is more common to use the adjective "Islamic" in such cases. The occurrences of the adjective "Islamic" are not listed above since it can not be categorized as pejorative per se, but only through its usage. Below are the instances where either of the two adjectives occurred.

Instances in the *Times*

1. "The most important threat to the West is Islamic terrorism"
   (23/01/2005)

2. "Hezbollah can truly transform itself from a heavily armed Islamist terrorist organization" (13/03/2005)

Instances in the *Post*

3. "The old forces of the Middle East – founded on autocracy, Islamic extremism and terrorism - are facing off in Lebanon" (08/03/2005)

4. "Mr. Mubarak's refusal to liberalize the system that has brought Egyptians decades of economic stagnation and rampant corruption while nourishing Islamic extremists" (18/01/2005)

5. "Islamic radicals have been bred by the Saudi-sponsored Wahhabi strain of Islam" (1/07/2004)

6. "The United States has to use its influence to discourage either the eventual emergence of an Iraqi Islamic republic or the destruction of the country" (2/08/2005)

Instances in the *Monitor*

7. "Recognizing the political influence that officers wield in a variety of countries throughout the Arab and Islamic world is a good first step" (20/01/2005)

8. "Despite its political rhetoric, it [the Muslim Brotherhood] aims to establish Islamic law in Egypt" (25/08/2005)

9. "An odd mix of militants – from anti-Shiite Sunnis to Al Qaeda-tied fighters to other Islamic fighters" (30/06/2005)

10. "Hamas, a social-services Islamic group that also backs attacks on Israeli civilians" (17/03/2005)

11. "Bush's formula ....opened the road to Islamist groups which pose a danger to democratic values" (25/08/2005)

12. "The militant Islamist organization Hamas is gaining in popularity against the ruling secular Fatah party" (25/08/2005)

The instances of the adjective "Islamist" demonstrate the negativity of this adjective since it has been exclusively juxtaposed with terrorist or militant groups. Likewise, the adjective "Islamic" in the instances shown above demonstrate that it has been juxtaposed with pejorative words except for the first, second, and third instances in the *Monitor* since the words "world", "law", and "fighter" are neutral per se. Even though in the sixth example in the *Post* the adjective "Islamic" was juxtaposed with "republic", yet it referred to the "Islamic republic" which itself is negative given the long conflict and tension associated with the Iranian Islamic Republic. The tenth sentence shows that the adjective "Islamic" is associated with groups that attack Israel and pose a threat to democratic values. This means that the adjective "Islamist" was solely used in a pejorative way, whereas the adjective "Islamic" was used interchangeably either in a pejorative or a neutral way. For most Middle Easterners, these two adjectives could evoke negative connotations. Most Middle Easterners consider the adjective/noun "Muslim" as the appropriate reference to them. The point to be stressed here is that there is no "politically correct"[15] label per se since the appropriateness or otherwise of a label depends on how it is experienced by people concerned. As a result even seemingly objective labels may acquire undesirable subjective connotations, and therefore had better be changed (Van Ginneken, 1998, p. 13). Drawing on this assertion, it is obvious that the three newspapers still make use of labels that could evoke negative connotations although there is an alternative for them.

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[15] A term used to refer to the avoidance of expressions which might cause offense to other social groups.

Another noteworthy point is the extensive usage in the editorials of the three newspapers of the words that denote anti-democratic structures in the Middle East that are shown under the category "Characteristics of bad governing" such as: *dictator*, *tyranny* and its semantically related words, *nepotism*, *theocratic*, *autocratic*, and *totalitarian*. There are 22 occurrences of these words in the *Times*, 32 instances in the *Post*, and 13 instances in the *Monitor*. Given the fact that most people in the West derive their notion of what is real about the Middle East from the media among which newspapers are an important source, one can assert that the production of meaning is intricately embedded in the activities of journalism. Any different system of government will be depicted as undemocratic if it does not follow the same Western values. This view does not take into account that democracy as a system of government is a pure Western practice that does not have the same tradition or cultural relevance in other parts of the world. This means that although many Western journalists do their best to learn about the culture of Middle Eastern Muslims, most of them base their judgments on norms taken from their own culture without taking into account the voice of the people on whom they comment.

Additionally, the category "interferences" in table 3 above reveals that there are references to the words "occupation" and "invasion" only in the editorials of the *Monitor*. Furthermore, there are references to the word "intervention" only in the *Monitor* and the *Times*, but none in the *Post*.

Instances in the *Times*

1. "International intervention can, with skill and luck, revive a battered and prostrate nation [Iraq]" (22/09/2005)
2. "With luck and continued international cooperation American-led intervention [Afghanistan] could wind up actually making people's lives better" (22/09/2005)

Instances in the *Monitor*

3. "Planning was not the forte of the US occupation" (29/06/2004)
4. "Will it look as if the occupation is over and the nation has full control of its affairs when the US plans to keep more than 130, 000 troops there?" (28/05/2004)
5. "The administration's bungling during the immediate postwar occupation did make things worse" (30/06/2005)
6. "Not by design, the invasion has mixed a civil war with an international war on terrorism" (30/06/2005)
7. "The US invasion of Iraq may have struck fear among Middle East autocrats" (14/03/2005)

The absence of words referring to the occupation or invasion in the editorials of the *Post*, as well as the mitigation used in the editorials of the *Times* by using the euphemized word "intervention" is in contrast to the style of the *Monitor* where the words "occupation" and "invasion" were collocated with the US. Despite the existence of a link between the Middle East and civil war as well as autocracy in the sixth and seventh sentences, yet in both sentences American action in Iraq was referred to as "invasion".

This means that both the United States and the Middle East were linked with negative words in the two afore-mentioned examples without using mitigation when referring to either side. According to Van Dijk (1997, pp. 31-64) mitigation using euphemism serves to play down and minimize the act or the responsibility. Accordingly, mitigation is one of the most effective and insidious ways to marginalize and tone down the mistakes done by the Self or any signifier. This usage of euphemism when it comes to referring to American occupation in the *Times* and the total absence of such words in the *Post* (combined with the previous mentioned juxtaposition between Islam or other signifiers of the Middle Easterners with violence or terrorism) leads to ingroup-outgroup polarization. Typical of such polarization is ingroup favoring and outgroup derogation, positive self-presentation and the association of "our" group with all good things and "their" group with all bad things (Van Dijk, 1995 a, pp. 135-161).

Another difference between the editorials of the *Monitor* on the one hand and those of the *Times* and the *Post* on the other hand is the usage of words under the category "religious statements" in table 3. In the *Times*, there was one reference to "credo" in the sentence "The insurgents have one credo: "Iraqis must not vote - there must be no authentic expression of the people's will for a modern, decent Iraq" (23/01/2005) and two to "fatwa" in "A fatwa has just been issued against a female Indian tennis player who is Muslim, condemning her for her short skirts" (28/09/2005) and "No fatwa has been issued condemning Zarqawi's butchering of Iraq Shiite" (28/09/2005). In the *Post*, there is one reference to "creed" in the sentence "Rather than tackle the hidebound religious establishment or promote alternatives to the strict Wahhabi (in Saudi

Arabia) creed, the regime has rounded up and jailed reformers" (01/07/2004), whereas there were no such references in the *Monitor*.

Surprisingly, two of the three words used under this category; namely *creed* and *credo* have their roots in Christianity while the word *fatwa* is derived from Islamic law. This shows that the editorials of both the *Times* and the *Post* draw on the religious aspect in their editorials to the limit that this religious aspect seems to be enforced. For example, using the word *credo* when referring to insurgents' insistence on what was described as preventing the Iraqi people from expressing their will for a modern and decent Iraq hints implicitly at a connection between what they want and their belief. The religious connotation of the word "credo" in the afore-mentioned instance is strengthened if media's portrayal of the Iraqi resistance as a religiously inspired resistance is taken into account. On this basis, it can be inferred that there is reference in the *Times* to incompatibility between the insurgents' understanding of the teachings of their religion - Islam- and the free vote as well as the so-called modernization of Iraq. Furthermore, there is no reason given in the *Times* for depicting the Wahhabi sect as the Wahhabi creed given the impression that the Wahhabi movement is a separate religion when it actually is nothing more than a puritan movement within Islam (*Encyclopedia Britannica*).

Also, the categories "crises and escalation", "murders and attacks", and "menace and resistance" in table 3 above show the obvious difference between the *Monitor* on the one side and the *Times* as well as the *Post* on the other side. There were only three occurrences in the category "crises and escalation" in the *Monitor*; whereas there were 13 occurrences under the *Times* and 10 occurrences under the *Post*. Even those 3 occurrences mentioned in the editorials of the *Monitor*; namely *conflict* and *escalation* are less negative if they are compared with what was mentioned in both the *Times* and the *Post* (chaos, catastrophic, debacle, crisis, turbulence, nightmarish, disarray, devastated). Also, there were 12 occurrences under the category "murders and attacks" in the *Monitor*, 26 occurrences under the *Times*, 12 occurrences under the *Post*. Additionally, there were 20 occurrences under the category "menace and resistance" in the *Monitor*, 22 occurrences under the *Times*, and 28 under the *Post*.

Surprisingly, the *Post* used the word "mafia" once in the sentence "Tribal and clan chieftains [in Iraq] operate as a kind of local mafia, selling their services to the well-financed insurgents" (29/09/2005) to demonize the Other symbolized here in tribal and clan chieftains and blaming them for assisting the insurgents. The extensive use of such words – especially in both the *Times* and the *Post*- portrays that part of the world as unstable and turbulent. Such images are by no means new but have rather framed dominant Western perceptions of the Middle East for long. This is not a new finding as Kabbani (1986, p.6) asserted in her study of the 19- century depictions of the Middle East. Among the most covered themes regarding the Middle East is its portrayal as a realm characterized by inherent violence and chaos.

2.4 Collocation

According to Manning and Schütze (1999, p. 151), collocation is an expression consisting of two or more words that correspond to some conventional way of saying things. Along the same vein, collocation is also defined as the relationship between two words or group of words that often go together and form a common expression. If the expression is repeated over and over, the words become glued in our minds. It could be argued that the juxtaposing of negative words with Middle Easterners on the one hand and the juxtaposing of positive ones with the Americans on the other hand lead to creating tokens or collocations. Tables 4 and 5 below list instances of what is meant by negative and positive collocations.

Table 4 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners or any Related Signifi

NYT	WP	CSM
System of governing		
Egyptian military dictatorship (11/09/2005)	Arab dictators [2] (18/01/2005)and (08/03/2005)	Middle East autocrats (14/03/2005)
Tyrannical rule (30/09/2005)	Beleaguered Middle Eastern autocrats (3/03/2005)	Arab regime (12/03/2005)
		Middle East regimes (30/06/2005)
	Egypt's autocratic ineptitude (04/09/2005)	Hosni Mubarak's government (20/01/2005)
	Dictatorship that has ruled Egypt (18/01/2005)	Middle East regimes (30/06/2005)

Table 4 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners or any Related Signifier (continued)

NYT	WP	CSM
	De facto dictator [president of Egypt] (09/09/2005) Middle East found on autocracy (08/03/2005)	Military regimes in the broader Middle East (20/01/2005)
	Anti-American regime (3/03/2005) Egyptian regime (4/09/2005) Saudi regime (1/07/2004) Dictatorial regimes (19/09/2004) Outlaw regimes (22/09/2005) Assad's regime (03/03/2005) Minority regime in Baghdad (28/09/2005)	

Table 4 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners or any Related Signifier (continued)

NYT	WP	CSM
Terrorism, Extremism and war		
Militant Shiite movement (13/03/2005)	Islamic extremism and terrorism (08/03/2005)	Radical Shiite group Hizbullah (12/03/2005)
Islamic terrorism (23/01/2005)	Islamic radicals (01/07/2004)	Hizbullah guerrillas (17/03/2005)
Muslim extremism and fascism (23/01/2005)	Islamic extremists (18/01/2005)	Militant Islamist organization Hamas (25/08/2005)
Violent fascist Muslim (23/01/2005)	Extremist clerics (01/07/2004)	Sunni insurgents [2] (30/06/2005) and (17/03/2005)
Muslim extremism and fascism (23/01/2005)	The insurgents have one credo (23/01/2005)	Islamist groups (25/08/2005)
fascist insurgents[2] (23/01/2005)	Sunni terrorists (02/08/2005)	Islamic fighters (30/06/2005)
Fascist Muslim minority (23/01/2005)	Violent extremists (01/07/2004)	
Hezbollah a heavily armed Islamist terrorist organization (13/03/2005)		

Table 4 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners or any Related Signifier (continued)

NYT	WP	CSM
Islamic terrorism (23/01/2005) Dangerous terrorists (10/09/2005)		
War of ideas within Islam (23/01/2005)		
Islamic values		
Strict Wahhabi creed (01/07/2004)		Islamic values (25/08/2005) Islamic standards (25/08/2005)
Current state of the region		
Spreading democracy in the Middle East (91/01/2005)	Darkest corners (21/01/2005)	appease the superpowers (03/03/2005)
Total numbers		
15	**20**	**15**

Table 5 Collocations with Americans or any Related Signifier

NYT	WP	CSM
Collocations with "our"		
Our standard (19/01/2005) Our enemies (31/01/2005)	Our world (21/01/2005) Liberty in our land (21/01/2005)	
Our commitment (19/01/2005)		
Collocation with "American"		
American credibility (19/01/2005) American commitment (19/01/2005) American values (10/09/2005) American lives (28/09/2005) American presence [2] (19/01/2005) American forces. (19/01/2005)	American vulnerability (21/01/2005)	American democracy (30/06/2005) American interests (20/01/2005) US values (14/03/2005) A heavy American hand (12/09/2005) American credibility gap (28/05/2004)

Table 5 Collocations with Americans or any Related Signifier (continued)

NYT	WP	CSM
Brutal behavior at American military prisons (10/09/2005)		
Collocation with "Bush"		
	Bush's call for Arab liberalization (18/01/2005) Bush administration [8] (09/09/2005), (04/09/2005), (01/07/2004), (21/01/2005) and (03/03/2005)	Bush formula [5] (25/08/2005) Bush vision (12/03/2005) Bush administration [2](13/01/2005) and (20/01/2005)
Collocation with "Western"		
Western control (19/01/2005) Western pressure. (13/03/2005)	Western governments (01/07/2004)	
Total numbers		
13	**13**	**13**

Table 4 above is divided into four categories: "system of governing", "terrorism, extremism, and war", "Islamic values", and "current state of the region'. Similarly, table 5 is divided into four categories based on the collocations with either: "our", "American", "Bush", or "Western. Table 5 shows that the pronoun "our" is used three times in the *Times*, two times in the *Post* but never in the *Monitor*. The pronoun "our" occurred in the following sentences:

1. "We have to be together, America and Europe, because our enemies are the same, Muslim extremism and fascism" *NYT* (31/01/2005)
2. "Lowering our standard of success is unlikely to increase American credibility either at home or abroad" *NYT* (19/01/2005)
3. "A referendum would show our commitment to empowering the Iraqis" *NYT* (19/01/2005)
4. "The ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world" *WP* (21/01/2005)
5. " The darkest corners of our world" *WP* (21/01/2005)

Van Dijk (1994, p. 25) interprets the pronoun "our" as signaling underlying structures of differentiation and opposition in mental models of the dichotomy us versus them. The pronoun "our" referred to both the United States and Europe once in the first sentence. In the following four examples the pronoun referred solely to the United States. This means that the umbrella of the pronoun "our" can be used to cover both the United States and Europe as standing in the same side or representing the same values.

Table 4 above demonstrates that there are associations in fifteen occasions in the *Times* and twenty occasions in the *Post* between Middle Easterners and negative terms through collocation (fascism, extremism, terrorism, dictatorship, tyranny, violence). Moreover, the choice of the words that collocate with the Self (commitment, credibility, and standard) based on constructive expressions indicates that there is a trace of positive self representation in both the *Times* and the *Post*, and to a lesser extent in the *Monitor*.

Moreover, the *Monitor* described Hisbullah as (radical Shiite group) and Hamas as (Militant Islamist organization) in the sentences "Syria helped its client, the radical Shiite group Hizbullah, stage a pro-Syrian demonstration in Beirut that dwarfed the earlier anti-Syrian protests" (12/03/2005) and "The militant Islamist organization Hamas, for instance, is gaining in popularity against the ruling secular Fatah party of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas" (25/08/2005); whereas the *Times* described the group Hisbullah as (a heavily armed Islamist terrorist organization) in the sentence "Hezbollah can truly transform itself from a heavily armed Islamist terrorist organization and engage in Lebanon's future as an independent political force" (13/03/2005). The examples of Hisbullah and Hamas show that the *Monitor* used fewer negative words than the other two newspapers to collocate with the exact same thing.

Another case in point is the association between the Middle East and regimes instead of governments used by the three newspapers.

In the *Times*

1. "They want an Iraq that will be decentralized and will allow each of their communities to run its own affairs and culture -- without fear of ever again being dominated and brutalized by an oil-backed Sunni minority regime in Baghdad" (28/09/2005)
2. "Our departure could create a power vacuum, emboldening the insurgents and leading to an anti-American regime or a civil war" (19/01/2005)

In the *Post*

3. "Bush is willing to place more pressure on the Egyptian regime than he has so far" *WP* (04/09/2005)
4. "The Saudi regime was founded on its alliances with the Wahhabi" *WP* (01/07/2005)
5. "If Mr. Assad will not yield to the new political realities they are creating, he will place his own regime at risk" *WP* (03/03/2005)

In the *Monitor*

6. "The US needs to let the Allawi regime take on an Iraqi character and make its mistakes" (29/06/2004)
7. "If the Mubarak regime is really trying to jump-start an Egyptian- style democracy, voter turnout last Wednesday signaled it is so far failing" (12/09/2005)
8. "Egypt's military leadership has signaled that it is not willing to risk regime stability for economic reforms" (20/01/2005)

On the other hand, the three newspapers used governments or administration when referring to Western institutions or the American government. It is noteworthy that one obvious distinction between the *Monitor* on the one hand and the *Times* and the *Post* on the other hand is the way the *Monitor* referred to the appointed Iraqi governing system - mentioned in the sixth sentence above - after the invasion as "Allawi regime" and not as "Allawi government" although this appointed government was referred to as "government" in both the *Times* and the *Post*. Examples below further illustrate that difference:

In the *Times*

1. "In both cases, the administration says it needs to be able to hold on to dangerous terrorists" (10/09/2005)
2. "The administration says it needs to be able to hold on to dangerous terrorists" (10/09/2005)
3. "The Bush administration has wisely, albeit reluctantly, agreed to go along with France and the United Nations on this course" (13/03/2005)
4. "The Iraqi government ordered three new fast patrol boats from a contractor in Baghdad" (30/09/2005)
5. "That would further alienate the middle-class Sunnis the government so desperately needs to win over" (23/02/2005)

In the *Post*

6. "The Bush administration and the French government rightly sense an opportunity to brush off these maneuvers and side with the mobilized people of Lebanon" (03/03/2005)

7. "The Bush administration, which has pledged itself to a democratic transformation of the Middle East, already has welcomed the election as a positive step" (04/09/2005)
8. "On Sunday, in a gesture aimed at Washington, Syria abruptly turned a top leader of the Sunni insurgency over to the Iraqi government" (03/03/2005)

In the *Monitor*

9. "The Israeli government has also used excessive, rights-abusing violence in many circumstances" (13/01/2005)
10. "Are fair elections all that the peoples of Palestine and Iraq need to resolve their many problems? From listening to some members of the Bush administration, you might think so" (13/01/2005)

Surprisingly, while the Iraqi governing system before the American invasion was referred to as Sunni minority regime in the *Times*; it was signified as government in the same newspaper when referring to it after the American invasion in sentences such as the fourth and the fifth sentences mentioned above under the *Times* and the eighth sentence under the *Post*. The uniqueness of the editorials of the *Monitor* stems from the interchangeable usage of the words regime and governments when referring to the governing systems in the Middle East "The officers support these initiatives because economic prosperity will likely instill the Egyptian regime with greater legitimacy, relieving a certain amount of political and social pressure on Hosni Mubarak's government" (20/01/2005); whereas both the *Times* and the *Post* referred to governing systems in the Middle East solely as regimes except when referring to the Iraqi governing system after the invasion. An obvious example of the uniqueness of the *Monitor* is the sixth example mentioned above under the *Monitor* which refers to Allawi's system (after the invasion) as "regime" and not as "government" which is different from both the *Times* and the *Post*. Such labeling, especially in both the *Times* and the *Post,* of elected governments as "regimes" and a system appointed by a foreign invading country as "government" may indicate some sort of bias on the part of both newspapers.

However, it could be argued that some of these examples illustrate the non-interchangeability of the words "regime" and "government". "Egyptian regime" refers to the type of government in Egypt, while "Hosni Mubarak's government" is a token of this type. With this acceptance of "regime" and "government", it might be logical that the Iraqi governments (tokens) before the US intervention be talked about as "regime" as what is important is their communality, what they represent and not what each of them is, and that the Iraqi government after the US intervention be talked about as "government" as it is the only one of its type (until now) and also because it underlines the change of type of government. However, it should be noted that the Iraqi governing system was depicted as "government" in the fourth sentence above in an editorial dating back to September 30, 2005. This means that the editorial was issued 5 months after the start of the second Iraqi governing system after the invasion led by Ibrahim Al-Jaafari who came in office on 28 April, 2005.

In addition to that, table 4 shows a significant lexical difference between the editorials of the *Times* and the *Monitor* on the one hand, and the *Post* on the other in the way they refer to the Iraqi resistance groups. The *Times* referred to them exclusively as *insurgents* 9 times. The *Monitor* used the same word when referring to them in three incidents beside using the phrase *Islamic fighters*: "Indeed, an odd mix of militants –

from anti-Shiite Sunnis to Al Qaeda-tied fighters to other Islamic fighters" (30/06/2005), or *fighters* "He (Bush) paints all such fighters as a seamless enemy that will only grow stronger if the US retreats prematurely" (30/06/2005). The *Post*, however, referred to them as *insurgents* only three times, and one time as *violent extremists:* "Any nation that compromises with violent extremists only emboldens them" (01/07/2004), one time as *Sunni terrorists:* "Sunni terrorists have, for example, targeted Sunni politicians who are members of the constitutional commission" (02/08/2005), and once as *Sunni militia* "There is no effective Iraqi army or police presence in these Sunni areas. Nor is there a Sunni militia that might maintain a rough peace" (29/09/2005).

Also, table 4 illustrates that the editorials of the *Times* make use of transliterated loan words in three occasions (*Fatwa*, *Jihadist*, and *sheik*), which could add a foreignizing or "othering" effect. On the other hand, such technique is absent in the other two newspapers. It is noteworthy, that the *Monitor* substitutes the two transliterated words (Sheik) or (Mullha) for (clerics) and the word (Fatwa) for (decree) in its editorials.

Occurrences in the *Monitor*

1. "Iran's clerics won't be able to create enough jobs for the country's youth" (14/03/2005)
2. "Iran's clerics are currently flush with oil revenues" (14/03/2005)
3. " a decree to quell the mainly Sunni insurgents" (17/03/2005)

Occurrences in the *Times*

4. " A fatwa has just been issued against a female tennis player who is Muslim" (28/09/2005)

5. " No fatwa has been issued by Sunni Sheiks condemning Zarqawi's butchering of Iraqi Shiite" (28/09/2005)
6. "Up to now the Sunni Arab world has stood mute while the Sunni Baathists and jihadists in Iraq have engaged in what can only be called "ethnic cleansing" " (28/09/2005)

The fifth sentence makes usage of two loan words; namely "fatwa" and "Sheik". The usage of two transliterated words in one sentence is quite confusing. It is possible that these three transliterated words might not be understood by everyone. Their foreignizing effect can at least lead to misunderstanding. With time, readers begin to recognize these terms as absolute synonyms of what is represented as the Middle Eastern Other. The polarizing outcome of the frequent negative words and transliterated words can be reinforced when these words are linked to the Middle Easterners via collocation. Furthermore, this polarizing affect can be maximized if words with positive connotation are linked to the Self or the representatives of the Self.

Moreover, the *Times* used the word "presence" in referring to American military in Iraq "Kurds and Shiites back a continued American presence" *NYT* (19/01/2005) and "absence" "let the Iraqis debate what the absence of American forces will mean for their families" *NYT* (19/01/2005); whereas the *Post* used "departure" in "our departure could create a power vacuum" *WP* (03/03/2005) when referring to the idea of withdrawing the troops from Iraq. The ideological perspective in choosing those words is amplified in the *Post* since it demanded "Syria's withdrawal" from Lebanon in an editorial dated (13/03/2005) "Focusing on the part of the United Nations Security council resolution on

Lebanon that demands Syria's withdrawal from Lebanon" and in the *Times* "Yesterday Syrian leader Bashar Assad launched his latest effort to stop Lebanon's "independence uprising," beginning a partial redeployment -- but not a withdrawal -- of Syria's occupying army" (08/03/2005). In contrast, the *Monitor* termed the same events as "occupation" in the sentences "Planning was not the forte of the US occupation" (29/06/2004), and "The administration's bungling during the immediate postwar occupation did make things worse" (30/06/2005) and leaving Iraq as "withdrawal" in the sentence "Our withdrawal after a referendum telling us to go would signal a willingness to engage with Iraq as an ally rather than an occupier" (19/01/2005).

Such a lexical divergence is not merely the nominal result of an evaluative categorization and identification, but also an ideological decision, given the political stance of the editors and their role in shaping public opinions towards others (Van Dijk, 1995 b). In all these examples, we find a trace of positive Self-presentation of the in-group and a negative Other-presentation of the out-group at most of the editorials of the *Post* which is characteristic of Van Dijk's ideological square.

These findings correspond to Fowler's (1991, p.17) argument that the formation of news events is "a reciprocal, dialectical process in which stereotypes are the currency of exchange". It could be argued here that the juxtaposition of either negative or positive words with a specific social actor results in creating stereotypes which is inherent in the journalistic practice as Fowler (1991) maintains. Discourse is said to be ideological according to its contribution to "sustaining or undermining power relations" (Fairclough, 1995 b, p.82) which can shed light on the rationale behind the *Times*' and the *Post*'s negative stereotyping of Middle Easterners. With the reduction of the Middle East and

Islam to ignoble traits, it seems that both the *Times* and the *Post* treat Middle Easterner Muslims as a monolith ignoring the fact that the Middle East is made up of different countries that possess distinctive cultural, ethnic and historical backgrounds.

On the other hand, it is notable to indicate here that the *Monitor* seems to be cautious in using stereotypes. Moreover, there were only a few occasions where the *Monitor* tried to collocate positive words with the supposedly in-group. This indicates that the *Monitor* tries to distance itself from appearing to be a supporter of the actions taken by the American administration and wants to help its readers understand the world outside their hometowns. By trying to detach itself from any association, the *Monitor* establishes itself as a more objective commentator since the *Monitor*'s articles are seldom limited to an official statement, but rather supplement the news of the day with the events and issues leading up to it. This means that explanatory journalism is characteristic of the *Monitor*. The explanatory journalism might be the result of the leisurely distribution and delivery system with which the *Monitor* works. The *Monitor* is sent by mail to subscribers. Since with this system the *Monitor* cannot compete in breaking news, the *Monitor* competes instead with its in-depth analysis of the story behind the story. That is why it is not a surprise that the *Monitor*'s publisher stated that "Our reporting out of the Middle East has been the best for years, with no onus attached to the Christian in our name and plenty of use and praise from Muslims in the United States and the region" (Shanor, 2003, pp.110-114).

Throughout the whole corpus of the *Times*, there was only one instance of collocating negative traits with the Self. That instance occurred in the *Times* edition of (10/09/2005) "brutal behavior at American military prisons". The editorial was commenting on the Abu Ghraib scandal. The collocation of "brutal behavior" with "American" can be ascribed to the unprecedented scale of notoriety reached by the scandal. The scandal reached a magnitude of notoriety to the limit that there could be nothing done to hide it or play it down.

In addition to that, table 5 shows that the editorials of the *Monitor* include two collocations that denote negative connotation regarding the Self. These collocations are "American credibility gap" (28/05/2004) and "A heavy American hand" (12/09/2005). These collocations were respectively mentioned in "one of America's biggest problems in Iraq is its enormous credibility gap with Iraqis" and in "a heavy American hand in setting up an interim government and the writing of the constitution [in Iraq]". The collocation "A heavy American hand" might be positive if the heavy hand is meant to enforce a desirable change, but this is not the case in the afore-mentioned example where the American heavy hand was not only utilized to enforce a government on the people of a different country, but also - and may be more importantly - to enforce a constitution. Having negative connotations as well as positive ones with both the signifiers of Americans along with those of the Middle Easterners is to be found only in the *Monitor*. This means that the Monitor tries not to shift the blame for all that is going on in the Middle East on only one side, namely the Middle Eastern side. Although the number of the occurrences of negative connotations with Middle Easterners is higher than that of Americans, one has to remember that the purpose of the editorials was to comment on the Middle East and not on the United States. Although it is hard to comment on the Other without invoking one's own values, it is not impossible to be free of interests or *parti pris* (Van Ginneken, 1998, p. 65). This means that commenting on the Other is usually accompanied with comparing the Other's values with those of the community to which one belongs. However, doing otherwise is not impossible. In fact, the continuous struggle to doubt one's own innermost and hidden frames is the duty of any honest journalists (Berger & Luckmann, 1981, p. 150).

To conclude, applying the chi-square test has shown that there are significant differences in the usage of positive words between the *Times* and the *Post* as well as between the *Times* and the *Monitor*. Furthermore, there are significant differences in the usage of negative words between the *Post* and the *Monitor*. These differences were not only limited to the occurrences of words, but also transcended that to the usage of words. The *Monitor* was the only newspaper that did not delimit itself to the criticism of the Other. It passed the stage of criticism and reached the level where it could analyze objectively both sides. For example, it was only the *Monitor* that tackled the issue of the lost Iraqi sovereignty as well as American excessive use of power and credibility gap in Iraq. What's more, unlike the *Times* and the *Post*, the *Monitor* did not make use of euphemism when referring to the situation in Iraq. The *Monitor* referred to this situation as either "occupation" or "invasion". Another unique feature of the *Monitor*'s style is its interchangeable usage of the terms "regime" and "government" when referring to the governing systems in the Middle East, whereas the *Times* and the *Post* made us only of the term "regime".

The following chapter will apply the same methodology to the editorials of the three German newspapers and try to find if there are any similarities among the American and German newspapers studied.

3. Analysis of the German Corpus

3.1 Introduction

The corpus of the German editorials is gathered from three newspapers: *die Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), die Welt,* and *die Zeit.* The following section reviews the journalistic background of the German newspapers covered in the study.

Die Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) is Germany's largest daily subscription newspaper and the Süddeutscher Verlag media group's flagship publication, reaching over 465,000 readers a day.

Although the title of *die Süddeutsche Zeitung* means literally "South Germany's Newspaper", *die Süddeutsche Zeitung* is read throughout Germany and boasts a relatively high circulation abroad. *Die SDZ* was the first newspaper to receive a license from the U.S. military administration in Bavaria on October 6, 1945, five months after the end of World War II and its first issue was published the same evening. The newspaper is owned by Süddeutscher Verlag.[16]

The importance of *die SDZ* in German journalism is best illustrated by its choice in 2005, in a survey that is conducted every ten years among German journalists, as the front-runner "Leitmedium". This means it was chosen as the most important newspaper by 1,536 representative German journalists. The research was conducted by Siegfried Weischenberg under the title "*Journalismus in Deutschland,*" which stands for "journalism in Germany". The study was published in the newspaper *die Zeit* in

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[16] http://www.sueddeutscher-verlag.de/index.php?idart=1227&idcat=3

06/10/2005. In its political leaning, *die SDZ* is considered to have a centre-left political position (Weischenberg, 2002, p. 203).

As for *die Welt,* it is a German national daily newspaper published by Axel Springer Company. It was founded in Hamburg in 1946 by the British military forces. The average circulation of *die Welt* is about 209,000 currently, and the paper can be obtained in more than 130 countries. *Die Welt* was a founding member of the European Dailies Alliance (EDA), within which it has a longstanding co-operation with comparable daily newspapers from other countries, including the *Daily Telegraph* (UK), *Le Figaro* (France) and *ABC* (Spain). As for the political orientation, *die Welt* describes itself as a liberal and cosmopolitan newspaper[17].

The third newspaper in this study is *die Zeit*. *Die Zeit,* which is seated in Hamburg, was first published in February 21, 1946 and is a weekly newspaper. It introduces review of the week in politics and public affairs as they affect Europe and especially Germany. The founding publishers of this weekly newspaper are Gerd Bucerious, Lovis H. Lorenz, Richard Tungel and Ewald Schmidt di Simoni. Since 1996, *die Zeit* has been part of Verlagsgruppe Holtzbrinck. *Die Zeit* is known for its very large physical size and its long and detailed articles. It is also the most widely read German weekly reaching 465,000 copies and has a very high reputation as a quality newspaper that addresses intellectuals, politicians, and educated citizens. As for its political orientation, *die Zeit* is centrist (Janßen & Kuenheim & Sommer, 2006).

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[17] http://www.welt.de/extra/service/248473.html

3.2 Corpus Design

After the previous short background of each newspaper, it is necessary to shed light on the composition of the German corpus before proceeding with the actual analysis. The overall German corpus consists of 29,609 words with an average of 986 words in each editorial. What is noteworthy here is the strikingly consistent and similar topical focus between the German and the American editorials. The topics covered in both languages are quite the same: the disastrous situation in Iraq and the election there with an extensive coverage of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, the situation in both Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the perils of the Iranian nuclear program, and the Palestinian chaos after the death of the Palestinian leader Arafat. Moreover, special attention is given to the knot that connects the oil wealth in the Middle East with policy-making in the West in general.

As followed in the American section , the linguistic analysis will focus on the occurrences of specific lexical items that can be categorized as negative or positive as well as the collocations with any signifier of the Self on the one hand, or the Middle Eastern Other on the other hand.

3.3 Frequency of Occurrence of Specific Lexical Items

Table 6 Occurrences of Positive Words

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
System of governing					
Demokratie	4	Demokratie(n)	3	Demokratie(n)	18
demokratisch	1	demokratisch(e,en,er)	5	demokratisch	1
Demokrat(en)	1	Regierung(en)	9	Pluralismus	2

Table 6 Occurrences of Positive Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Regierung	5	Palästinenseradministration	1	Regierung(en)	18
				liberal(e,en,er,es)	7
				moderatere	1
Freedom					
befreien/Befreiung	2	Meinungsfreiheit	1	Freiheit	1
Freiheit	2	Freiheit	4		
Legitimacy of the system					
Legitimität	2	legitim(e)	2	legitim(e,n)	4
legitim(e)	1	Legitimität	1		
legitimiert	1				
Religious affiliation					
Muslime	3	muslimischer	1	muslimisch(e,en,er)	7
muslimisch(en)	1				
Positive human characteristics					
humanitär(e)	1	humanitäre	1	Menschenrechte	1
		Menschenrechte	1	menschlichen	2
		Menschenwürde	1	moralischer	1
		moralisch(en,er)	2	Toleranz	2

Table 6 Occurrences of Positive Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Peace					
Frieden	7	Frieden(s)	3	Frieden	6
Friedenswillen	1			friedliche	1
friedlich(en)	1				
Resistance					
Die SDZ	**n**	**Die Welt**	**n**	**Die Zeit**	**n**
Freiheitskämpfer	3	Freiheitskampf	1	Widerstand(es)	5
				Widerstandskampf	1
Political situation or circumstances					
Stabilität	3	Stabilisierung	3	modernen	5
		Souveränität	1		
		modernen	2		
Political change					
		Demokratisierung	1	demokratisieren	2
		Reform	1	Demokratisierer	7
				Demokratisierung	5
Total positive words	**39**		**44**		**97**
Total words in corpus	**5900**		**6311**		**9837**

Table 6 Occurrences of Positive Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Percentage of positive words in total corpus	**0.66**		**0.70**		**0.98**
Chi-square (χ2)	**=6.26**				

The words in table 6 are distributed in 9 categories: "system of governing", "freedom", "legitimacy of system", "religious affiliation", "positive human characteristics", "peace", "resistance", "political situation or circumstances", and "political change". As mentioned before in the American section, the grouping of words under the different categories is based on commonalities among these words. The category "system of governing" is by far the largest category with 76 occurrences. In the second place is the category "peace" with 19 occurrences. In the third place is the category "political change" with 16 occurrences. The remaining six categories have fewer than 15 occurrences each.

Table 6 shows clearly the low percentage of positive words in the total corpus of each newspaper with *die Zeit* (0.98 percent) on top of the occurrences of positive words followed by *die Welt* (0.70 percent), and finally *die SDZ* with a percentage of 0.66. The differences in the occurrences of positive words among the three newspapers as a whole are significant since the value of the chi-square (6.26) is greater than (5.00). On a one-to-one level, the difference in the occurrences of positive words between *die SDZ* and *die Welt* is not significant with a chi-square value less than 1. Likewise, the difference in the occurrences of positive words between *die Welt* and *die Zeit* is not significant with a chi-square value of (3.64). On the other hand, the difference in the occurrences of positive words between *die SDZ* and *die Zeit* is significant with a chi-square value of (4.47), which is greater than the significance value (3.84). Overall, the low percentages of the occurrences of positive words in the corpus might be the result of the topics covered in these editorials since the topics covered are mainly about conflicts and crises. This can be attributed to either the dark perspective from which the editorials comment on the Middle East, or the nature of topics that are valid material for editorials commenting on international issues.

One of the most important results that we can deduce from table 6 above is related to the reference to religious affiliation. The table shows that "muslimisch" was mentioned one time in *die SDZ*, one time in *die Welt*, and seven times in *die Zeit*. In addition to that, the word "Muslime" has been used three times and only in *die SDZ*. The juxtaposition in *die Zeit* of the adjective "muslimisch" occurs with words such as: „muslimische Staaten" (14/06/2003), „Kultur der muslimischen" (14/06/2003), „muslimische Welt" (18/06/2003), „muslimische Gemeinschaft" (21/07/2005), „die muslimischen Minderheiten" (23/07/2005), „die muslimische Mehrheit" (23/07/2005). Moreover, the adjective "muslimisch" is juxtaposed in *die SDZ* and *die Welt* respectively with the following words; "muslimische Welt" (11/11/2004) in *die SDZ*, and "muslimische Länder" (16/04/2003) in *die Welt*. As for the three instances of the word "Muslime" in *die SDZ*, they are as follows: „in Amerika genießen Muslime das Recht auf freie Glaubensausübung" (09/10/2001), „die USA schützen im Kosovo und in Bosnien

Muslime vor den Übergriffen von Serben und Kroaten“ (09/10/2001), and „Millionen Muslime würden in die neue Welt pilgern“ (14/02/2005).

The previous mentioned examples in the editorials of the three newspapers shed light on the usage of the noun “Muslim” or the adjective “muslimisch” through examining meanings that they either denote or the words with which they are juxtaposed. The noun “Muslim” is used to refer to those who confess Islam in general. As for the adjective “muslimisch”, the examples above show that it is used to describe regular non-pejorative issues as countries, culture, world, community, minorities, and majorities. Thus, it can be deduced that the usage of either “Muslim” or “muslimisch” does neither denote nor connote negative affect since it was never accompanied with negative words.

Another point demonstrated by table 6 above is that of the usage of words that denote positive political change in the editorials of *die Zeit* and to a lesser extent in the editorials of *die Welt*, but never in those of *die SDZ*. The word “Demokratisierung” [*democratization*] was mentioned one time in *die Welt* and five times in *die Zeit*. Moreover, the word “Reform” [*reform*] was mentioned once in *die Welt*. In addition to that, the verb “demokratisieren” [*to democratize*] was mentioned twice in *die Zeit*. Also, the word “Demokratisierer” [*democratizer*] was mentioned seven times in *die Zeit*. This shows that the issue of change towards Western democracy is a much covered topic in the editorials of *die Zeit* and to a lesser degree in *die Welt*. On the other hand, this issue was not tackled in the editorials of *die SDZ*.

What should be mentioned here is that the word "Demokratisierer" in *die Zeit* refers to the faction of neo-conservatives[18] in the American administration that believes that it is their mission to spread democracy in the Middle East. Another case in point that emphasizes the need for the change towards democracy in this region is clear from the juxtaposition of the word "Demokratisierung" in *die Zeit* with the following words: "Demokratisierung der arabischen Welt" [*democratization of the Arab world*] (14/06/2003), "Demokratisierung in Riad" [*democratization in Riyadh*] (03/06/2004). In *die Welt* "Demokratisierung" was juxtaposed with "von außen" [*from outside*] in an example dated (15/04/2003). Also, in *die Welt* "Reform" was accompanied by advice from outside in an example in the edition of (22/04/2004): "den Saudis wird Rat in Richtung Reform zuteil" [*the Saudis will be given advice toward reform*]. This shows that the positive instances of democratization are mostly mentioned in reference to the Western advice or pressure.

Another important point illustrated by table 6 above is the occurrence of "Demokratie" [*democracy*] and its derivations "demokratisch" [*democratic*] and "Demokrat" [*democrat*]. The percentage of the occurrence of the word "Demokratie" and its derivations in *die Zeit* is 23 out of the occurrences of all words under the category "system of governing", whereas the percentages in *die Welt* and *die SDZ* are 10 and 7 respectively. These differences in the occurrences of the word "Demokratie" and its derivations between *die Zeit* and both *die Welt* and *die SDZ* accompanied with the two instances of the word "Pluralismus" [*pluralism*], the 7 instances of the word "liberal"

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[18] An American political movement that originated in the 1960s among conservatives and some liberals who were repelled by what they viewed as the political and cultural trends of the time, including leftist political radicalism and immoral lifestyles (*Encyclopedia Britannica*).

[*liberal*] and the one instance of the word "moderatere" [*moderate*] in *die Zeit* point to a difference in the perspective of commenting on the Middle East among the three newspapers.

The relative positive perspective of *die Zeit* is further demonstrated by taking a look at some of the collocations where the above mentioned positive words were used: "moderatere Köpfe" [*moderate heads*](18/06/2003), "die liberale Demokratie" [*liberal democracy*](14/06/2003), "in liberale Demokratien transformiert" [*transformed in liberal democracies*](14/06/2003), "die Prinzipien der liberalen Demokratie" [*principles of liberal democracy*], "die Stimmen liberaler Saudis" [*the voices of liberal Saudis*] (03/06/2004), and " es gibt echte arabische Demokraten" [*there are real Arabic democracies*] (14/06/2003).

Furthermore, it is important to note that "Palästinenseradministration" [*Palestinian administration*] was referred to once in *die Welt*. Also, the word "Regierung" [*government*] was mentioned 18 times in *die Zeit* where it referred 4 times out of the 18 times to governments in the Middle East: "Ägyptens Regierung" [*Egypt's government*] (23/07/2005), "die Regierung von Präsident Hosni Mubarak" [*the government of President Hosni Mubarak*] (23/07/2005), "die Regierung in Riad" [*the government in Riyadh*] (03/06/2004), "die Regierungen in Riad und Washington" [*the governments in Riyadh and Washington*] (03/06/2004). As for both *die SDZ* and *die Welt* the word "Regierung" was mentioned 5 and 9 times respectively with reference only to Western governments except in three times in *die Welt*.

Ironically, these three instances referred solely to the Iraqi governing apparatus after the American invasion: "eine provisorische irakische Regierung" [*an interim Iraqi* *government*] (30/07/2003), "die künftige irakische Regierung" [*the future Iraqi government*] (22/04/2003), and finally, "Allawis Regierung" [*Allawi's government*] (18/11/2004). The exclusive reference to the Iraqi governing system as "government" (even though that apparatus was not only backed but also appointed by an occupying force most obviously during the time of Mr. Iyad Allawi) will be of importance when commenting on the reference to the governing apparatus in Iraq before the American invasion as well as the existing governing apparatus in the region.

Table 7 Occurrences of Negative Words

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
		Attacks and murders			
aggressiveren	1	Angriff(e)	5	Angriff(e,en)	7
Angriff(en)	5	Anschlag/ Anschläge(n)	5	Anschlag/Anschläge(n)	17
Anschlag/Anschläge(n)	14	Attacke(n)	2	Attentate(n)	2
Attentate	4	Attentaten	1	Attentäter	2
Bombenangriffe	1	Attentäter	3	blutig(e,en,er)	5
Bombenattentate	1	Ermordung	3	brutaler	1
Terror-angriff(e)	2	erschießt	1	Ermordungen	1
Terroranschläge(n)	4	Erschießung	1	Massaker	2
Gewalt	3	erschossen(en)	3	Massenmord	1
		Morde	2	Tod(es)	7
		mörderischen	1	tödlich(e,en,er)	4
		sabotieren	1	töten/tötet/tötete	6

Table 7 Occurrences of Negative Words

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
		brutal(e,er,sten)	4	Assassinen	1
		steinigen	1		
		Steinigung	1		
		Gewalt	5		
Characteristics of bad governing					
Staatsterror	1	Diktator(en)	3	autokratische(n)	2
autoritär	1	Diktatur(en)	7	Autorität	9
Diktator/s	3	Gewaltherrschaft	3	Despoten	1
Diktatur	1	Gottesstaates	1	despotische	1
Mullah-staat	1	Regime(s)	7	Diktatur	1
Regime	5	Scharia	1	korrupt	1
terroristisch-theokratisch(es)	1	Scheichtümer	1	Prinzenregime	1
Tyrannei	1	Terror-regime	1	Regime	4
Tyrann(en)	3	totalitäre	1	Staatsfäulnis	1
undemokratisch	1	Tyrannen	1	totalitären	1
steinzeitlich-totalitär(e)	1	Chaos	5	Willkür	1
				Morast	1

Table 7 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Religious affiliation and figures					
islamisch(e,em,en,er)	11	islamisch(e,en)	5	Imame	2
Islamismus	1	Islamismus	3	islamisch(e,en,er,es)	10
Islamist(en)	4	Islamisten	4	Islamisten	7
islamistisch(e,en,er)	5	islamistisch(e,en)	2	islamistisch(e,en,er)	8
Madrassa	1	Mullahs	3	Mullahs	3
Agitation and religious devotion					
Extremisten	1	Dschihad	2	Dschihad	5
Fanatiker(n)	2	Dschihadisten	1	Extremisten	3
Fanatischen	2	Extremismus	3	Fanatismus	1
fundamentalist(en,em,e)	4	Extremisten	3	fundamentalistische	3
Glaubenskrieg	2	extremistischen	1	Mudschaheddin	3
radikal(en)	3	Fanatiker(n)	2	radikal	1
radikalisieren	3	Fanatisierung	1	Religionsfanatismus	1
Radikalisierung	2	Fanatismus	2	Selbstmordterrorismus	1
Radikalität	2	Fundamentalisten	1	Terror(s)	8
Terror(s)	34	fundamentalistischen	2	Terrorismus	5
Terrorgefahr	1	radikal(e)	2	Terroristen	13
Terrorismus	6	Radikalismus	1	Todeskult	2
Terrorist(en)	14	Religionshass	1	Kult	1
terroristisch(e,en)	4	Terror(s)	11		

Table 7 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Terror-monster	1	Terrorismus	6		
Steinzeit-muslim(e)	1	Terrorist(en)	11		
		terroristische	3		
Animosity to the West					
anti-amerikanischen	1	Hass	8	Antiamerikanismus	1
Antiamerikanismus	1	Haßgefühle	1	Hass	2
Anti-bushismus	1	Feind (en,es)	5	zerstörerisch	1
Hass,es	9	Dämonisierung	1	Zerstörung	1
Vernichtungsphilosophie	1	Dämonen	1		
Vernichtungswille	2				
zerstörerisch(e,en)	2				
Zerstörung	2				
Menace and wars					
Atom-bedrohung	1	Besatzer	2	Bedrohung	1
Besatzung	3	Besatzung	4		
Konflikt(s)	9	Konflikt(e)	4		
Krieg	14	Krieg(e,es)	29		
militant(en,er)	4	militanten	2		
Eroberung	1	eroberten	1		
Enflammbarkeit	1	Eroberung	1		
Folter	1	Harmaggedon	1		

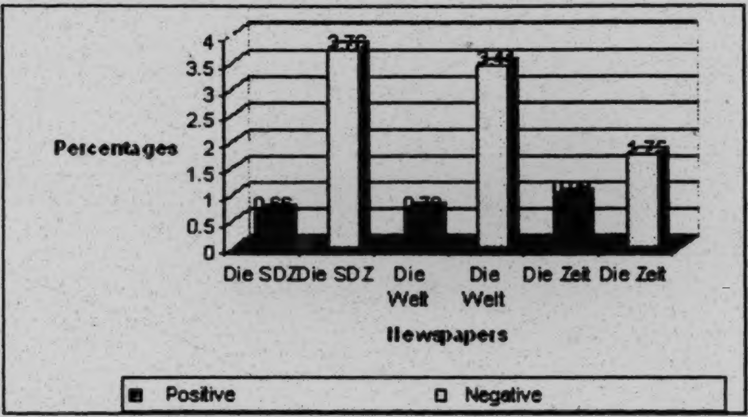
Table 7 Occurrences of Negative Words (continued)

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Barbarian traits					
barbarisch	3	brutal(e,er,sten)	1	lasterhaft	1
Barbarei	1	gewaltsam(e)	2		
Brutalität	1	gnadenlos	2		
unmenschlich(en)	1	Grausamkeit(en)	3		
		Barbarisierung	1		
		steinzeitlich	1		
Explosions and bombings					
explodierenden	1	bomben	3	Bombe(n)	5
Bombardement	1	Granaten	1	Explosion	4
bombardieren	1	Sprengstoff	2		
Bombardierungen	1				
Total negative words in corpus	**222**		**231**		**172**
Total words in corpus	**5900**		**6311**		**9837**
Percentage of negative words in total corpus	**3.76**		**3.44**		**1.75**
Chi-square (χ2)			**=72.15**		

The words in table 7 above are divided in 8 categories: "attacks and murders", "characteristics of bad governing", "religious affiliation and figures", "agitation and religious devotion", "animosity to the West", "menace and wars", "barbarian traits", and "explosions and bombings". With 182 occurrences the category "agitation and religious devotion" is the category with the largest number of occurrences. It is followed by the category "attacks and murders" with 130 occurrences, the category "menace and wars" with 79 occurrences, the category "characteristics of bad governing" with 74 occurrences, the category "religious affiliations and figures" with 69 occurrences, and the category "animosity to the West" with 40 occurrences. The remaining two categories "explosions and bombings" and "barbarian traits" are the ones with the least occurrences with 19 and 17 occurrences respectively.

The first and most pervasive result that table 7 above shows is the high value of the chi-square (72.15). Furthermore, the chi-square test shows that the distribution of negative words between *die Zeit* on the one hand and both *die SDZ* and *die Welt* on the other hand is significant with chi-square values of (58.02) and (54.71) respectively, whereas the distribution of negative words between *die SDZ* and *die Welt* is not significant with a chi-square value of (0.08). Additionally, table 7 above shows the relatively high percentages of the instances of negative words throughout the corpus of the three German newspapers, especially if these percentages are compared to those of the occurrences of positive words calculated in table 6. Chart 3.1 below shows the percentages of the occurrences of positive and negative words throughout the corpus of the three newspapers

Figure 3.1 Percentages of Positive and Negative Words



Building on the information provided in chart 3.1, we find out that *die SDZ* not only tops the list of the percentage of occurrences of negative words with 3.76 percent, but also comes in the bottom of the list of the occurrences of positive words with 0.66 percent. The second place in the list of the percentage of occurrences of negative words is occupied by *die Welt* with 3.44 percent. Similarly, *die Welt* filled the second place in the list of the occurrences of positive words with 0.70 percent. As for *die Zeit*, it occupied both the last place in the list of the percentage of occurrence of negative words with 1.75 percent as well as the first place in the list of the occurrences of positive words with 0.98 percent.

The above mentioned analysis revealed that the more negative words a newspaper contains, the fewer positive words it is likely to include and vice versa.

One of the most perceptible facts about table 7 above is the abundant persistence of negative words. Of special negative affect are the words used to refer to the character and system of governing. It is noteworthy that the word "Regime" was mentioned in all three newspapers: 5 times in *die SDZ*, 7 times in *die Welt*, and 4 times in *die Zeit*. The most important finding regarding the instances of the word "Regime" can be reached when we compare the ways the governing apparatus in Iraq was referred to before and after the American invasion. Table 8 below makes that difference clear.

Table 8 References to the Iraqi Governing System Before And After the American Invasion

Newspaper	Before the invasion	After the invasion
Die SDZ	No instances found	No instances found
Die Welt	Terror-Regime [Irak] (16/08/2005) Regime dieser Art [Irak, Syrien] gehen jede Verbindung ein (19/09/2003)	eine provisorische irakische Regierung (30/07/2003) die künftige irakische Regierung (22/04/2003) Allawis Regierung (18/11/2004)

Table 8 References to the Iraqi Governing System Before and After the American Invasion (continued)

Die Zeit	das Regime der Baath-Partei im Irak (14/06/2003)	die Amerikaner und die von ihnen eingesetzte Regierung in Irak (20/05/2005)
	Regime, das die Menschenrechte missachtet (11/08/2005)	die irakische Nationalversammlung bestimmt eine neue Regierung (20/05/2005)

Table 8 shows that there were two references to the governing apparatus in Iraq before the American invasion in both *die Welt* and *die Zeit* as well as three and two references after the invasion in the same newspapers in the same order mentioned above. In relation to *die SDZ*, table 8 above reveals that there was no instance of referring to the governing apparatus in Iraq either before or after the American invasion. Pertaining to the divergence in referring to the governing apparatus in Iraq before and after the American invasion, table 8 shows that in both *die Welt* and *die Zeit* the ruling apparatus in Iraq prior to the occupation was spoken of solely as "Regime" [*regime*]. On the other hand, there was a shift in the way the Iraqi governing apparatus was signified after the American occupation where it was referred to as "Regierung" [*government*]. The only exception for the pejorative use of the word "Regime" might be the last sentence under *die Zeit*. In this case the word "regime" might be a reference to all the Iraqi governments before the American invasion, yet it is still surprising that the word "Regierung" [government] was never used to refer to the governing apparatus before the American invasion. Maybe the most striking paradox revealed in table 8 is symbolized in this sentence "die Amerikaner und die von ihnen eingesetzte Regierung in Irak" [*the Americans and the government appointed by them in Iraq*]. Referring to a governing apparatus appointed by a foreign intruder which does not have a mandate from the people to do so as "government" while referring to the ones before it, whether democratic or not according to Western standards, as "regime" puts into question the criteria followed in the selection of words when referring to the governing apparatus in that part of the world. This fact is accentuated when we take into consideration the definition of "regime" as "a government, especially an authoritarian one" (*Compact Oxford English Dictionary*). This choice of words or wording directs readers' thoughts and channels their cognitive responses concerning the message communicated. This means that the labels or wording used to describe an object or an event play an important role in pre-persuading readers even before setting to defend the argument presented by the writer (Pratkanis & Aronson, 1992, pp. 44-63). Overall, the usage of the word "regime" juxtaposed with authoritarian forms of governments in reference to the Middle East concurs with Hentsch's (1992, pp. 107-113) assertion that despotism is portrayed as the characteristically Middle Eastern form of government.

Quite obvious is the usage of foreign words in their original Arabic form. These words are referred to as transliterated words. All the instances of these words are presented in table 9 below:

Table 9 Occurrences of Transliterated Words

Die SDZ	n	Die Welt	n	Die Zeit	n
Mullah-staat	1	Scharia	1	Imame	2
Madrassa	1	Mullahs	3	Mullahs	3
		Dschihad	2	Dschihad	5
		Dschihadistan	1	Mudschaheddin	3
Total	**2**		**7**		**13**

The table of the transliterated words shows that transliterated words have been in use in the three newspapers. Van Ginneken (1998, p. 145) argues that when this practice was first introduced, the transliterated words were meaningless. Subsequently they began to signify something entirely new. Since they were associated with strangeness, this often resonated heavily with the moral superiority or moral inferiority dimension. For the most part, words like "Imam" can easily be translated as "prayer leader", "Mullah" as "religious teacher", "Scharia" as "the religious law", "Dschihad" as "spiritual struggle". It is interesting to note that the above mentioned transliterated words belong to the same register, namely the religious-political register. The alien character of the above mentioned words invariably tends to give them a negative afterglow when used to comment on the religion or the politics of the Middle East.

The tables of results exhibit the widespread use of words that denote religious affiliation such as: "islamisch", "Islamismus", "islamist", and "islamistisch". The exclusive portrayal of Middle Easterners as Muslims ignores the fact that a number of Middle Easterners estimated between 12 and 15 millions are Christian (voice of America, 2006). Considering that the whole population of the Middle East is 291 millions (MSN Encarta), then this means that between 4 and 5 percent of the population of the Middle East are Christians. Portraying some Middle Easterners as Christians would, however, distort the general image adopted by the three newspapers which depicts Middle Easterners as the complete Other.

Furthermore, table 7 above shows the abundance of words listed under the categories of "agitation and religious devotion", "animosity to the West", "explosions and bombs", and "barbarian traits". Accordingly, the results show that terrorism, radicalism, fundamentalism, and political instability appear to be the most prevailing themes covered in the newspapers. Middle Easterners appeared to be homogenized as being united in goals and sympathies that directly oppose, if not hate, Western, especially American, interests:

Die SDZ

1. "gedankenlose anti-amerikanischen Sprücheklopfer" [*brainless anti-American loudmouths*] (09/10/2001)
2. "im Nahen Osten hat Antiamerikanismus längst den Anti-Bushismus abgelöst" [*anti-Americanism in the Middle East superseded anti-Bushism long ago*] (31/12/2003)
3. "an saudischen Schulen wird Hass auf Ungläubige gelehrt"[*hatred for unbelievers is taught in Saudi schools*] (24/10/2001)
4. "in ihrem Hass auf Amerika und Israel verkennen viele Araber die Wirklichkeit" [*in their hatred to America and Israel, many Arabs misjudge the reality*] (09/10/2001)

5. "Hass gegen die westliche Zivilisation" [*hatred for the Western civilization*] (17/09/2001)
6. "der Hass hat sich losgelöst vom Nahen Osten und richtet sich gegen die gesamte westliche Zivilisation" [*the hatred originated in the Middle East and is directed against the whole Western civilization*] (17/09/2001)
7. "natürlich liegt die Wurzel des Hasses im Nahen Osten" [*certainly the root of hatred lies in the Middle East*] (17/09/2001)

Die Welt

8. "Arafat nutzt die hoffnungsarme Lage seines Volkes, um weiter Hass zu säen" [*Arafat capitalizes on the rather hopeless situation of his people to plant more seeds of hatred*] (11/01/2002)
9. "der Hass auf Israel und Amerika ist Ventil des sozialen Protests" [*the hatred of Israel and America is outlet to the social protest*] (06/12/2001)
10. "der religiös gesteuerte, hauptsächlich gegen die Vereinigten Staaten und Israel gerichtete Hass ist überall in arabischen Ländern zu finden" [*the religiously directed hatred which is chiefly against the United States and Israel is found everywhere in the Arab countries*] (16/04/2003)

Die Zeit

11. "Antiamerikanismus der schiitischen Geistlichen beschränkt sich auf die flammenden Reden bei den Freitagsgebeten" [*the anti-Americanism of the Shiite clerics is limited to the flaming speeches in Fridays' prayers*] (03/07/2003)

Furthermore, table 7 above shows the existence of many words (69) that signify religious affiliation under the category "religious affiliation and figures". Table 10 below shows the juxtaposition of these words.

Table 10 Usages of Words that Denote Religious Affiliation

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
	Islamisch	
Ringen der islamischen Welt mit dem Westen (11/11/2004)	viele Islamische Staaten (19/03/2002)	die islamische Welt (14/06/2003)
in der islamischen Welt (09/10/2001)	die islamische Religion (19/03/2002)	die islamische Kultur (14/06/2003)
islamische Fundamentalisten (17/09/2001)	islamische Extremisten (30/07/2003)	der Islamische Dschihad (21/07/2005)
die fanatischen Terroristen von Islamischem Dschihad (03/12/2001)	die Idee eines islamischen Gottesstaates (29/08/2005)	Zusmmenhalt der islamischen Zivilisation (14/06/2003)

Table 10 Usages of Words that Denote Religious Affiliation (continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
		die Terrororganisation Islamischer Dschihad (06/10/2003)
	Islamismus	
der gewaltbereite Islamismus (09/10/2001)	der radikale Islamismus (19/03/2002)	
	Islamist	
militante Islamisten (09/10/2001) Hass der Islamisten (20/07/2005) Anschlägen von Saddamisten und Islamisten (31/12/2003)	die Wucht der Islamisten (09/07/2005)	
	Islamistisch	
der islamistische Terror (11/11/2004)	der islamistische Extremismus (09/07/2005)	islamistische Terroristen (21/07/2005)

Table 10 Usages of Words that Denote Religious Affiliation (continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
die islamistische Gefahr (20/07/2005)	der islamistischen Feind (19/09/2003)	islamistische Terrorgruppen (21/07/2005)
die islamistischen Terroristen (20/07/2005)		der islamistische Terrorismus (23/07/2005)
ein islamistischer Terrorist (19/10/2001)		Problem des islamistischen Terrors (14/06/2003)

Table 10 shows clearly that the three words that refer to the affiliation to Islam: "islamistisch", "islamist", and "Islamismus" are always juxtaposed with violent and terrorist characters. On the other hand, "islamisch" did not carry on the same juxtaposition. "Islamisch" was juxtaposed in *die SDZ* twice with "Welt" [*world*], once with "Fundamentalisten"[*fundamentalists*], and once with "Dschihad" [*Jihad*]. Likewise, in *die Welt* "islamisch" was juxtaposed with "Staaten" [*countries*], "Religion" [*religion*], "Extremisten" [*extremists*], and "Gottesstaat" [*theocracy*]. Likewise, in *die Zeit* "islamisch" was juxtaposed with "Welt" [*world*], "Kultur" [culture], "Dschihad"[*Jihad*], and "Zivilisation" [*civilization*]. Consequently, it can be concluded that only the word "islamisch" is not pejorative as it can be associated with either negative or positive words as shown in the occurrences mentioned above. The case is different when it comes to the three other words "islamistisch", "islamist", and "Islamismus". The occurrences shown in table 10 above demonstrated that these words were associated with either:

1. “gewaltbereite” [*violence-prone*]
2. “militant” [*militant*]
3. “Hass” [*hatred*]
4. “Anschläge” [*attacks*]
5. “radikal” [*radical*]
6. “Wucht” [*vehemence*]
7. “Terror” [*terror*]
8. “Gefahr” [*danger*]
9. “Terroristen” [*terrorists*]
10. “Extremismus” [*extremism*]
11. “Feind” [*enemy*]
12. Or “Terrorgruppen” [*terror group*].

Also, table 10 shows how the three newspapers gave discursive attention to terrorism. Middle Easterner Muslims were subjected to negative labeling, associated with extremism and terrorism but were not recognized as political activists in any instance. Additionally, by continually associating religiosity with terrorism, fundamentalism, violence, attacks, and danger, the religious aspect was signified as the chief factor of influence in these inhumane acts. With repeatedly reducing “Islam” to terrorism, radicalism, extremism, and fanaticism through connotation, it seems that its name and its symbols are being treated in the editorials of the three newspapers as essentially signifying a deviant cult, not a worldwide religion with adherents in almost every country in the world. This points to the same conclusion reached by Iganatieff “Muslim means fundamentalist; fundamentalist means fanatic” (UKACIA, 1993, p 4). Table 11 below shows the occurrences of collocations with Middle Easterners, their dominant religion or any signifier.

3.4 Collocation

Table 11 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners, Their Dominant Religion or any Signifier

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
	Middle Easterners	
palästinensischer Terror (09/10/2001)	eine der brutalsten Diktaturen des Nahen Ostens (16/08/2005)	die arabischen regime (03/06/2004)
Mangel an Demokratie in Arabien (09/10/2001)	ein säkularer, demokratischer Modellstaat [Irak] (16/08/2005)	der irakische Despot (03/07/2003)
arabische Regime (09/10/2001)	Terror-Regime [Irak] (16/08/2005)	das Regime der Baath-Partei im Irak (14/06/2003)
die militanten Palästinenser (11/11/2004)	die künftige irakische Regierung (22/04/2003)	palästinensische Terroristen in Syrien (06/10/2003)
das saudische Regime (09/10/2001)	die Terrorgruppen Hisbollah und Hamas (15/04/2003)	Reformen in Arabien (03/06/2004)#
das Regime in Riad (23/10/2001)	die totalitäre Regime (15/04/2003)	Reformen im Nahen und Mittleren Osten (03/06/2004)

Table 11 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners, Their Dominant Religion or any Signifier (Continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
das ägyptische Regime (09/10/2001)	die arabischen Regime (06/12/2001)	die Demokratisierung der arabischen Welt (07/06/2003)
Bin-Laden-Regime (09/10/2001)	die Herren der arabischen Welt (06/12/2001)	Hoffnung auf Frieden im Nahen Osten (23/07/2005)
dem autoritär regierten Familienkönigreich [Saudi-Arabien] (09/10/2001)	der brutale Diktator des Irak (16/04/2003)	Religionsfanatismus und Nationalismus in dieser Weltgegend [im Nahen Osten](11/08/2005)
Saddam und seine korrupte Korona (19/10/2001)	der irakische Diktator (16/04/2003)	
Wurzel des Hasses im Nahen Osten (17/09/2001)	eine mörderische Diktatur in Irak (29/08/2005)	
die radikalen, terroristischen Kräfte in den Palästinensergebieten (03/12/2001)	die palästinensische Gewalt (11/01/2002)	
die radikalen Palästinenser (11/11/2004)	die Gewalt der Palästinenser (11/01/2002)	

Table 11 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners, Their Dominant Religion or any Signifier (Continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
Terroranschläge der Hamas (11/11/2004)	Arafat ist Herr des Terrors (06/12/2001)	
	Arafat, der Zauberlehrling des Terrors (06/12/2001)	
die militanten Palästinenser mit ihren unmensclichen Terroranschlägen (11/11/2004)	der frühere Terrorist [Arafat] (11/01/2002)	
The dominant religion		
der islamistische Terror (11/11/2004)	der islamistische Extremismus (09/07/2005)	der islamistische Terrorismus (23/07/2005)
Islam-Askese der Steinzeit (24/10/2001)	kopfloser Radikalismus (09/07/2005)	das Problem des islamistischen Terrorismus (07/06/2003)
islamistischer Terrorist (19/10/2001)	der Islam (die islamische Religion) ist Dynamit (19/03/2002)	der Islam ist eine radikal Religion (04/06/2003)

Table 11 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners, Their Dominant Religion or any Signifier (Continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
die islamistische Gefahr (20/07/2005)	der radikale Islamismus (19/03/2002)	das aktuelle Problem des islamistischen Terrors (14/06/2003)
fundamentalistischer Terror (16/09/2001)	islamische Extremisten (30/07/2003)	die islamistischen Terroristen (14/06/2003)
Mullah-Staat (14/02/2005)	religiöser Extremismus (19/03/2002)	islamistische Terroristen (21/07/2005)
die islamistischen Terroristen (20/07/2005)	islamische Extremisten (30/07/2003)	die Terrororganisation Islamischer Dschihad (06/10/2003)
islamische Fundamentalisten (17/09/2001) Hass der Islamisten (20/07/205)		Konflikt mit dem totalitären Islam (23/07/2005) tödlicher Hass auf die westliche Gesellschaft (21/07/2005)
der gewaltbereite Islamismus (09/10/2001)	die grotesken Auswüchse religiöser Fanatisierung (19/03/2002)	das fundamentalistische Virus (23/07/2005)

Table 11 Collocation of Words with Middle Easterners, Their Dominant Religion or any Signifier (Continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
militante Islamisten (09/10/2001)	der islamistische Feind(19/09/2003)	fundamentalistische Prediger und Lehrer (03/06/2004)
Konflikt der muslimischen Welt mit dem Westen (11/11/2004) Ringen der muslimischen Welt mit dem Westen (11/11/2004)	die fundamentalistischen Madrassas (16/04/2003)	islamistische Terrorgruppen im Nahen Osten (21/07/2005)
die terroristische Gefahr (09/10/2001)	der islamische Dschihad (11/02/2002)	Autokratische regime mit muslimischer Mehrheit (14/06/2003)
die fanatischen Terroristen von Hamas und Islamischem Dschihad (03/12/2001)	die Idee eines islamischen Gottesstaates (29/08/2005)	
	Kultur der Gewalt (16/04/2003)	

One of the striking examples in table 11 above is the usage of the words fundamentalistisch" and "fundamentalist" [*fundamentalist*] in the newspapers. The words "fundamentalistisch" and the word "fundamentalist" were mentioned once each in *die SDZ*: "fundamentalistischer Terror" [*fundamentalist terror*] (16/09/2001) and "islamische Fundamentalisten" [*islamic fundamentalists*] (17/09/2001). The word "fundamentalistisch" was mentioned once in *die Welt* "die fundamentalistischen Madrassas" [*the fundamentalist Madrasas*] (16/04/2003), and twice in *die Zeit* "das fundamentalistische Virus" [*the fundamentalist virus*] (23/07/2005) and "fundamentalistische Prediger und Lehrer" [*fundamentalist preachers and teachers*] (03/06/2004). What is worth mentioning concerning the word "fundamentalism" or its derivations is that it does not have its origins in the heritage of Islam or the Middle East, but rather traces its origins back to American Protestantism, in movements that stood against modernizing tendencies and insisted on a literal interpretation of the Bible (Poole, 2002, p.140). The association of the term with the maintenance of orthodox religious beliefs and its opposition to the forces of liberalism and secularism formulates a dichotomy between fundamentalism and modernism. This dichotomy is manipulated in the three newspapers to discredit Muslim forces in the Middle East as long as these forces are challenging Western interests. On the other hand, the word the word "fundamentalist" might be used to show that not all Muslims are criticized but only the fundamentalist fraction among them. The usage of such a term reinforces the argument that editorials in the three newspapers judge the Other from a Western and Judeo-Christian centric perspective although it is the duty of honest journalists to continually struggle to doubt their own innermost and hidden frames (Berger & Luckmann, 1981, p. 150). The least that can be said is that there are no attempts done to incorporate the Other's voice or point of view. The Western-centric perspective that this term epitomizes was spotted by scholars such as Esposito (1992) who argued that the term "fundamentalism" is misplaced when it is used in relation to Islam or Middle Eastern movements due to its Christian presupposition.

Additionally, table 11 above illustrates the point mentioned before about the usage of the word "Regime" [*regime*] solely when referring to governments in the Middle East except when referring to the Iraqi governing system after the American occupation. The table above shows two striking examples of the pejorative connotations of the word "Regime"; namely "Bin-Laden-Regime" (09/10/2001) and "Terror-Regime" (16/08/2005). Most importantly, there were no instances in the corpus as shown in table 11 above where the governing apparatus in the Middle East or any of its countries was referred to as government. There are only "Arabische Regime" [*Arabic regimes*] (09/10/2001), "das Regime der Baath-Partei im Irak" [*regime of the Baath-part in Iraq*] (14/06/2003), "Terror-Regime [Irak]" [*terror-regime in Iraq (before the American invasion)*] (16/08/2005), "das saudische Regime" [*Saudi regime*] (09/10/2001), "das Regime in Riad" [*the regime in Riyadh (the capital of Saudi Arabia)*] (23/10/2001), "das ägyptische Regime" [*the Egyptian regime*] (09/10/2001), and "die totalitäre Regime" [*totalitarian regime*] (15/04/2003).

As illustrated before, the only times a governing apparatus was referred to as government was in the case of Iraq after the American occupation. This means the system of Bin Laden and that of any terror regime is similar to that of Middle Easterner countries as both are referred to as "regimes". Perhaps the best example that illustrates the negative image in which the governments are portrayed in the Middle East is mentioned in *die Welt* "die arabischen Regime sind entweder Diktaturen oder Familienfirmen" [*the Arabic regimes are either dictatorships or family companies*] (06/12/2001). The negative depiction is not limited only to the usage of words like "Regime", but can also be deduced in usage of words like "Diktatur" [*dictatorship*]. For example, the sentence "eine der brutalsten Diktaturen des Nahen Ostens" [*one of the most brutal dictatorships in the Middle East*] (16/08/2005) refers to the Iraqi system before the American invasion and explicitly states that Iraq is one dictatorship among others in the Middle East.

The negative depiction was not limited to the political systems, but rather was extended to the presidents and leaders. For example, Arafat (the former Palestinaian leader) was connotated with terror three times in *die Welt* as " Herr des Terrors" (06/12/2001), "der Zauberlehrling des Terrors" (06/12/2001), and "der frühere Terrorist" (11/01/2002) which stand respectively for [*Terror master*], [*sorcerer apprentice of terror*], and [*the former terrorist*]. What is more is that the whole Palestinian leadership was depicted in *die SDZ* as terrorists. Additionally, the former Iraqi President was described as "der irakische Despot" [*the Iraqi despot*] (03/07/2003) in *die Zeit*, as "der brutale Diktator" [*the brutal dictator*] (16/04/2003), and "der irakische Diktator" [*the Iraqi dictator*] (16/04/2003) in *die Welt*. These connotations raise many questions concerning the evidence that these newspapers have in order to describe an elected president as a terrorist or as a despot.

Maybe the most obvious example of the pejorative usage of connotations in the three newspapers is the collective labeling of anti- occupation individuals, groups, and organizations as "terrorist". For example, Both Hamas and Hezbollah are referred to in *die Welt* as "terrorist groups". In *die SDZ.* Hamas is juxtaposed with terrorist attacks in "Terroranschläge der Hamas" [*Hamas' terrorist attacks*] (11/11/2004). Furthermore, Palestinian activists in Syria were indistinguishably referred to in *die Zeit* as terrorists "palästinensische Terroristen in Syrien" [*Palestinian terrorists in Syria*] (06/10/2003) and Palestinians were referred to as "militant" in *die SDZ* "die militanten Palästinenser" [*militant Palestinian*] (11/11/2004). Moreover, Palestinian people were juxtaposed with "Gewalt" [*violence*] in *die Welt* in the sentence "die Gewalt der Palästinenser" [*the violence of the Palestinians*] (11/01/2002). In another instance in *die Welt* the adjective "palästinensisch" was juxtaposed once more with "Gewalt". What is more is that the word Palestinian was collectively juxtaposed in *die SDZ* with terror in the sentence "Palästinensischer Terror" [*Palestinian terror*] (09/10/2001), with radicalism in "die radikalen Palästinenser" [*the radical Palestinians*] (11/11/2004), with militancy in "die militanten Palästinenser mit ihren unmensclichen Terroranschlägen" [*the militant Palestinians with their inhumane terrorist attacks*] (11/11/2004).

The category "dominant religion" in table 11 shows that the discourse of the three newspapers blend in creating the notions of "Islam ist Dynamit" [*Islam is dynamite*], "islamic terror", "islamic extremism", "islamic fanaticism", "islamic fundamentalists", "islamic terrorists", "islamic terror groups", "islamic theocracy", "fundamentalist virus", "islamic jihad", "violence culture", "terrorist danger", "militant Islamists", and "Islam is a radical religion". The widespread usage of words denoting affiliation to Islam shows a tendency of the three newspapers to use a religious belief in Islam as "a universal cover" or as a key to understanding Middle Easterners' and, in general, Muslims' behaviors in both social and political arenas.

These examples go along the same line with Chomsky's (1992) remark that the entrenched image of connotating any thing Islamic as being innately prone to violence and the perception that international violence is usually carried out by Middle Eastern countries allow for the construction of Islamic violence as a unique phenomenon. Not only does coalescence of both the discourses of Islam and violence imply that the religion of Islam promotes destruction, but also, and not less significantly, it obfuscates the responsibility of the West in the escalation of violence.

What is worth mentioning is that the adjective "muslimisch" was mentioned three times; twice in *die SDZ* and once in *die Zeit*. The adjective "muslimisch" was connotated twice with "Welt" [*world*] (11/11/2004)/ (11/11/2004) and once with "Mehrheit" [*majority*] (14/06/2003). This means that the adjective "muslimisch" had no coalescence with pejorative words in all the three German newspapers.

After shedding light on the occurrences of collocations with the Middle East, it is necessary to investigate the occurrences of collocations with the West. Table 12 below shows the occurrences of collocations with the West or any signifier.

Table 12 Collocation of Words with the West or any Signifier

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
Amerika und seine westlichen Verbündeten (08/10/2001)	unsere Widerstandsfähigkeit (02/08/2005)	die westlichen Demokratien (23/07/2005)

Table 12 Collocation of Words with the West or any Signifier

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
Unwidersprochen Feindschaft gegen Amerika (23/10/2001)	der Hass auf Israel und Amerika (06/12/2001)	die amerikanische Invasion (14/05/2005)
die Tyrannen-Stürzer (31/12/2003)	Bushs Amerika (30/07/2003)	die westlichen Vorstellungen von Demokratie (07/06/2003)
Amerikas Legitimität (31/12/2003)	die amerikanische Regierung (16/08/2005)	westliche Regierungen (06/10/2003)
Amerika und seine westlichen Verbündeten (09/10/2001)	die demokratischen Staaten in Europa (09/07/2005)	Widerstand gegen die Amerikaner (03/07/2003)
der amerikanische Hegemon (17/09/2001)	Misstrauen gegen den Westen (16/04/2003)	die amerikanische Regierung (18/06/2003)
Hass gegen die westliche Zivilisation (16/09/2001)	Weltmacht gegen ein Terror-Regime (16/08/2005)	die öldurstige amerikanische Weltmacht (03/06/2004)
die westliche Zivilisation (17/09/2001)		die amerikanische Besatzungsmacht (03/07/2003)
die westliche Demokratie (09/10/2001)		Abzug der amerikanischen Truppen (14/05/2005)

Table 12 Collocation of Words with the West or any Signifier (continued)

Die SDZ	Die Welt	Die Zeit
die gesamte westliche Zivilisation (17/09/2001) Überlegenheit der Werte des Westens (31/12/2003)		
die Regierung Bush (12/09/2001) die britische Regierung (19/01/2005) die Mission an Euphrat und Tigris (31/12/2003) die Entschlossenheit und Stärke Amerikas (31/12/2003)		

One of the main contrasts illuminated by table 12 is the way the governing systems are referred to. For example: in *die Welt* "die amerikanische Regierung" [*the American government*] (16/08/2005), in *die Zeit* "westliche Regierungen" [*Western governments*] (06/10/2003) and "die amerikanische Regierung" [*the American government*] (18/06/2003). In *die SDZ* there were two instances "die Regierung Bush" [*the Bush's government*] (12/09/2001) and "die britische Regierung" [*the British government*] (19/01/2005). This means that all three newspapers used the term "government" solely when referring to Western countries and never used the term "regime".

However, it could be the case that some of these examples refer to a specific composition of the diverse governments at a specific time and not to the type of governments. Nevertheless, the previous argument does not account for depicting the governing apparatus as "regime" in the sentences: "die arabischen regime" [the Arab regimes] *die Zeit* (03/06/2004), "die arabischen Regime" [the Arab regimes] *die SDZ* (06/12/2001), and "arabische Regime" [Arab regimes] *die SDZ* (09/10/2001), whereas the Western governing apparatus were referred to as governments in the following sentence: "westliche Regierungen" [*Western governments*] *Welt* (06/10/2003).

Additionally, table 12 above brings to light the connotations between Western countries and the hatred felt by Middle Easterners in both *die SDZ* and *die Welt* and not in *die Zeit*. In *die SDZ* there are phrases such as "unwidersprochen Feindschaft gegen Amerika" [*undisputed animosity against America*] (23/10/2001), "Hass gegen die westliche Zivilisation" [*hatred against the Western civilization*] (16/09/2001), in *die Welt* "der Hass auf Israel und Amerika" [*the hatred against Israel and America*] (06/12/2001) and " Misstrauen gegen den Westen" [*mistrust toward the West*] (16/04/2003). There are many examples of such connotations in which the West or its signifiers, taking into account that Israeli is considered a Western country in a nonwestern region, are portrayed as the receivers or the victims of either animosity, hatred, or mistrust. This kind of connotations obfuscates the responsibility of the West in what is termed as hatred, animosity, or mistrust felt by some Middle Easterners towards the West. Moreover, the existences of such connotations in both *die SDZ* and *die Welt* and the absence of similar ones depicting Western animosity or at least mistrust towards the Middle East in the three newspapers draws suspicions about the objectivity of both *die SDZ* and *die Welt*. It is worth stressing that *die Zeit* did not make use of such connotations which distinguishes it from the other two newspapers.

Not only does *die Zeit* distinguish itself through abstaining from using the above mentioned connotations, but also through the usage of connotations that do not euphemize the American invasion of Iraq in the following sentence "die amerikanische Invasion"[*the American invasion*] (14/05/2005). The point of view adopted by *die Zeit* concerning the American invasion of Iraq was further emphasized in two other connotations. The first one is "Abzug der amerikanischen Truppen" [*withdrawal of the American troops*] (14/05/2005). The second sentence is "die amerikanische Besatzungsmacht" [*the American occupying power*] (03/07/2003). Of special importance is the connotation "Widerstand gegen die Amerikaner" [*resistance against the Americans*] (03/07/2003) since it does not demonize or dehumanize all those opposing the American occupation. May be the difference between *die Zeit* and the other two newspapers can be understood best if the way *die SDZ* referred to the occupation of Iraq is taken into consideration. Unlike *die Zeit*, in *die SDZ* the American occupation was euphemized as a mission and juxtaposed with the two rivers that run through Iraq from north to south in this instance "die Mission an Euphrat und Tigris" [*the mission on Euphrates and Tigris*] (31/12/2003). Along the same vein, the American interference and the subsequent occupation of Iraq were termed in *die Welt* as "Weltmacht gegen ein Terror-Regime" [*world power against a terror-regime*] (16/08/2005). There can be no better justification for the aggression launched by the world power than depicting the opponent as a terror system.

In the same vein, *die SDZ* connotated America's position regarding Iraq with determination and strength in the sentence "die Entschlossenheit und Stärke Amerikas" [*America's determination and strength*] (31/12/2003). On top of that, in *die SDZ* the values of the West were connotated with the word "Überlegenheit" [*superiority*] in the sentence "der Irak sollte also zum Symbol der Überlegenheit der Werte des Westens und der Demokratie werden" [*Iraq should become thus the symbol of the superiority of the values of the West and democracy*] (31/12/2003). The previous mentioned sentence assumes that Iraq will be the show place of the superiority of the Western values ignoring the fact that wars are the show place of military superiority and not that of values. Additionally, the conjunction between democracy and the values of the West portrays democracy as part and parcel of Western values. Therefore, occupying Iraq is portrayed as a step towards democratizing it.

Likewise, there is a connotation between America and oil in *die Zeit* "die öldurstige amerikanische Weltmacht" [*the oil- thirsty American world power*] (03/06/2004). The juxtaposition of oil thirsty with world power implicitly hints at the world power's dependence on oil. At least it can be said that the connotation draws the attention to America's need to secure oil resources no matter what it takes.

Unlike the absence of any connotation of any Middle Eastern countries with democracy or liberalism, except for Iraq after the American invasion, we find these connotations in the three newspapers when it comes to representatives of the West. For example, in *die SDZ* „die westliche Demokratie" [*the Western democracy*] (09/10/2001), in *die Welt* "die demokratischen Staaten in Europa" [*the democratic countries in Europa*] (09/07/2005), and in *die Zeit* „die westlichen Demokratien" [*the Western democracies*] (23/07/2005) as well as „ die westlichen Vorstellungen von Demokratie" [*the Western conceptions of democracy*] (07/06/2003). Such differences in connotations contribute to the creation of a dichotomy between the West and the Middle East, where the West stands for rationality, democracy, liberty, and superiority and the Middle East stands for aberrancy, despotism, suppression, and inferiority. This dichotomy is the realization of one of Said's "thematic clusters" previously mentioned which pointed out that the Middle East is portrayed as a contested site in which "our" side is represented by the civilized and democratic West.

As a final point, the above mentioned analysis of the three newspapers showed the pervasive presence of four of the five thematic clusters stemming out of the discourse of Orientalists ; namely

- The pervasive presence of Middle Eastern, more particularly Arab or Islamic terrorism. Terrorism is always depicted as congenital and not as having any foundation in prior violence or continuing conflict.
- The Rise of Islamic and Muslim fundamentalism in the Middle East.
- The Middle East as a place whose violent and incomprehensible events are routinely referred back to a distant past full of ancient tribal, religious, or ethnic hatred.
- The Middle East as a contested site in which "our" side is represented by the civilized and democratic West.

Although, there were many instances connotating between Middle Easterners and hatred to Israel, none of the three studied newspapers made references to Nazi or any European anti-Semitism movements. Therefore, Said's fifth cluster the Middle East as a locale for the re-emergence of a virulent type of anti-Semitism was not realized in the three newspapers. This absence of any reference to anti-Semitism might be the result of the sensitivity of this issue in Germany due to Germany history. The one point worth mentioning is the difference between *die Zeit* on the one side and *die SDZ* and *die Welt* on the other. The signs of these differences are most apparent in the absence of any connotations between Middle Easterners and congenital hatred or animosity to the West, the nonappearance of euphemism when referring to the American invasion of Iraq and America's thirst for oil. The difference is further accentuated in the comparatively limited negative instances and connotations in *die Zeit*.

In general, it can be concluded that the above analyzed clusters show that the pejorative labels have survived many experiences and have been capable of adapting to new events, information and realities (Said, 1981, p.9).

After looking at both the American and German corpus individually it is time to investigate whether the differences in the occurrences of positive and negative words in the American and German corpus are significant. For that end the occurrences of both the positive and negative words in each corpus will be added to form one number. Applying the chi-square test will demonstrate whether the differences in the occurrences of positive and negative words across the two corpora are significant. Table 13 below shows the results of the chi-square tests.

Table13 Differences in the Occurrences of Positive and Negative Words across the Two Corpora

Characteristics	American corpus	German corpus
Total words	**18485**	**22048**
Total positive words	**210**	**180**
Chi-square of occurrences of positive word	**=10.57**	
Total negative words	**340**	**625**
Chi-square of occurrences of negative word	**=40.91**	

Table 13 above shows that the results of the chi-square tests regarding the occurrences of positive and negative words in the two corpora are (10.57) and (40.57) respectively. This means that the differences in the occurrences of positive and negative words in the American and German corpora are significant since both values are greater than (3.84) each. The rationale behind these significant differences in the German and American corpora might be attributed to German history which forces German journalists to be supportive of Israel or at least not to be critical. Along the same line, Timm (2006, p. 14) argued that there is a broad political consensus regarding Germany's Middle East policy in general and its special relationship with Israel in particular. Accordingly, all of the political parties represented in the *Bundestag* [federal Parliament] accept the special German responsibility toward Israel because of the Holocaust. In addition, the parties agree that the Middle East conflicts endanger not only the whole region but also impact security in Europe. One other factor that might influence the German editorials' position towards the Middle East and Islam is the tense relation between the Muslim community and the society. In short, the special responsibility Germany has accepted vis-à-vis Israel as a result of the Holocaust as well as the far from harmonious relations between the big Muslim community and the society might be the reasons behind the extensive use of negative words in the corpus. In any case, finding the roots behind these differences needs further study.

To sum up, the abundance of words that denote barbarian traits, animosity to the West, explosions and bombings, and agitation in both the American and the German corpora shows that there is a discursive consistency between American and German editorials in identifying the same derogatory themes and topics associated with the Middle East. The next chapter will tie the findings in the two previous chapters with the clichés and the thematic clusters pertinent to commenting on the Middle East.

4. Conclusion and Final Remarks

4.1 Conclusion and Final Remarks

The analysis of both the American and the German editorials tied in with Ginneken's (1998, p. 66-71) view that most journalists in the West use Judeo-Christian religion as a yardstick of civilization in their understanding and portrayals of other cultures and consider themselves to hold liberal and progressive ideas. This aspect was most obvious in the reference to democracy and liberalism, which themselves are pure Western values. Also, it was obvious through the analysis that "Islam", or the word "Islamic", seemed to engulf all aspects of the Middle East by connotating it with all malicious qualities such as (terrorism, extremism, fanaticism, militancy, violence). This kind of coalescence reduced Middle Easterners to malevolent and unthinking essence. It is remarkable that the labels revealed by the analysis verify Said's "thematic clusters".

Except for the "thematic cluster" which concerns the Middle East as a locale for the re-emergence of a virulent type of anti-Semitism, the analysis showed that the other four clusters were evident in the two corpora. It is noteworthy though to mention that the animosity to the United States and Israel was mentioned once in the *Times* and once in the *Post* but never in the *Monitor* or any of the German newspapers "The old slogans and sentiments - anti-Israeli, anti-American, pro-Islamist, sectarian - can be exploited by Syria, Iran and their local proxies" NYT (10/03/2005), "He (Mr. Mubarak) ruthlessly suppressed Egyptian civil society and democratic movements and encouraged anti-Israeli and anti-American incitement in his state-controlled media" WP (18/01/2005). Surprisingly, in both cases "anti-Israeli" was referred to in connection with "anti-

American" as if they are inseparable. This connection gives the reader the impression that Israel represents the American side in the Middle East and that it is a bastion of Western civilization within the Middle Eastern wilderness. The result of such depiction is nothing less than a very palpable form of us-versus-them dichotomy.

Instead of trying to understand the Other, the editorials of the *Times*, the *Post*, *die SDZ*, and *die Welt* tended to demonize the Other. In other words, the Middle East is portrayed as a contested site in which "our" side is represented by the civilized and democratic West. The previous mentioned cluster is by no means new, but rather an old theme that has been capable of adapting to new events and realities. It is indeed important to note that throughout most of both the American and the German editorials there was an imposed link between the dominant religion of the Middle East and every aspect of life; 3 times in the *Times*, 7 in the *Post*, 11 in the *Monitor*, 22 in *die SDZ*, 14 in *die Welt*, and 25 in *die Zeit*.

Surprisingly, there was not even one instance referring to Christianity or Judaism, although they represent for the Western civilization what Islam represents for the Middle Eastern countries. The reason why it is always the West and not the Judo-Christian West that seems pitted against the Muslim Middle East stems from the journalists' assumption that whereas the West has surpassed the stage of Judeo-Christianity, the Middle East on the contrary is still mired in its dominant religion; namely Islam and hence in backwardness. Therefore, journalists take for granted that the West stands for modernity. The Middle East for the most part was portrayed as nothing more than "Islam" reducible to a small number of unchanging characteristics ignoring the other elements pertinent to the character of the Middle East. Among these characteristics is its long history and traditions that precede Islam as well as the often overlooked differences among its inhabitants.

The aforementioned analysis does not mean, however, that there was not an effort in the editorials to learn about the culture of Middle Eastern Muslims. All what was meant was that most of the editorials fall short of taking their culture glasses off to find out what the Middle East is really like. By doing so, the editorials fall into the trap of misinterpreting the Middle East with its peculiar culture. Although it is hard to comment on the Other without invoking one's values, it is not impossible to be free of interests or *parti pris* (Van Ginneken, 1998, p. 65). In fact, the continuous struggle to doubt one's own innermost and hidden frames is the duty of any honest journalists (Berger & Luckmann, 1981, p. 150). However, editorials are different from other sections of newspapers since editorials are statements or articles that express an opinion rather than attempt to simply report news. They represent the newspaper's official positions on issues. As a consequence, editorials are not expected to be objective, but rather adhere to the practice of "fairness" (Hackett & Zhao, Y, 1998, p. 113). By being fair, editorial writers can express their opinions and talk whatever stance they deem to be right as long as they do not demonize the ones with whom they disagree. The abundance of negative words and collocations in the corpus studied show that the editorial writers tend to demonize the Other through the usage of negative words and expressions that can channel the reader's thinking even before reading the editorial's argument.

As a result, editorial writers use their own cultural glasses as the only cultural grid they refer to (Kessing & Strathern, 1998, p. 16) when interpreting the Middle East with its peculiar culture which stems to a great extent from Islam. The results of this study reinforces Hentsch's finding (1992, pp. 107-113) that despotism is portrayed as the characteristically dominant form of government in the whole Middle East.

Therefore, the editorials- except for the *Monitor* and *die Zeit*- tend to depreciate the Middle East and its people by connotating them with ignoble traits. Most notably among these traits are (extremism, terrorism, despotism, chaos, and fanaticism). Moreover, they tend to exaggerate the differences between the behaviors of the ingroup and the Middle Easterners and make judgments about the inferiority of the behaviors of Middle Easterners when they are at odds with those of the self. Judging the actions or deeds of the outgroup as inferior affirms the superiority of the ingroup; whilst opting for the other option puts into question the ingroup's values and way of life.

The present study has shown that many editorial writers opt for the former option. By doing so in judging other cultures, they fall in the trap of ethnocentrism which was defined by Sumner and adopted by LeVine and Campbell (1972, p.8) as "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the centre of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it". By culture here, this thesis adopts Keesing's (1998, p.40) theory of culture quoted by Gudykunst and Kim (1992, pp. 12-13) which asserts that:

> Culture is this theory to which a native actor refers in interpreting the unfamiliar or the ambiguous, in interacting with strangers (or super naturals), and in other settings peripheral to the familiarity of mundane everyday life space; and with which he creates the stage on which the games of life are played….

It is important here to note that, according to this theory, the actor's awareness of his/her culture, like his/her awareness of his language may be in large measure unconscious. Actors follow rules of which they are not consciously aware, and assume a world to be "out there" that they have in fact created with culturally shaped and shaded patterns of mind. The actors in our case are the editorial writers whose view of the Other is shaped by the unconscious awareness of the culture in which they are brought up. As noted before at the outset of this research, the Western cultural view toward the Middle East seems to have been created to a great degree by the movement of Orientalism. This movement dates back to the 18th century with the beginning of what was termed then as the European colonization where in fact it was nothing less than occupation.

Shoemaker and Reese (1991, p. 53) showed that journalists belong not only to a culture and a subculture, but also belong to a profession. Professional groups share certain ways of doing and seeing things; they share an additional subculture of professionalism. The ideology of this profession is summed up by O'Sullivan et al (1988, pp. 161-2) as informal codes, though they may be backed by institutional bodies with quite extensive powers. Once initiated, a practitioner of the occupation will be expected to conform to this code in a spontaneous and routine way – it is not so much a rule book as a role model. Occupational ideologies are characterized by esoteric, specialist or jargon language, which is in fact a discourse that both marks and regulates the job… Clearly occupational ideologies will also include the historically amassed knowledges, myths and anecdotes which serve the internal solidarity, working practices and general social/political interests of the group in question.

In addition to that, Gitlin (1980, p.7) argued that occupational ideologies bring certain frames of mind as well as patterns of cognition, interpretation, presentation, selection, emphasis, and exclusion. These frames are important for journalists since they facilitate the process of large amounts of information about other people and cultures quickly and routinely and hence assigning these vast amounts of information to cognitive categories. This leads us to the same conclusion that was reached before by Shoemaker (1991, p.49) that frames are unavoidable in journalism at least for organizational reasons if not for other reasons.

One point that the analysis demonstrated is the difference between the American and German newspapers in terms of the occurrences of positive and negative words. Furthermore, there were differences between the *Monitor* as well as *die Zeit* on the one hand, and the *Times*, the *Post*, *die SDZ*, and *die Welt* on the other hand. Both newspapers had fewer negative words, less association with the Self and fewer negative collocations. This means that the more the newspaper identifies itself with the in-group (the *Times*, the *Post*, *die SDZ*, and *die Welt*), the more they try to endow the Middle Easterners with certain ignoble traits either explicitly or implicitly as a part of the ideology of positive Self presentation. It is worth mentioning here that the more objective newspapers in this study have the least circulation among the six newspapers investigated. The *Monitor*'s circulation is estimated at 71,000 copies a day, whereas *die Zeit* has a circulation of 465,000 copies a week. Another pertinent difference is the frequency of circulation for these papers. While the *Times*, the *Post*, *die SDZ*, and *die Welt* are daily newspapers, the *Monitor* is issued five days a week and *die Zeit* is issued once a week. This means that both newspapers can not compete in breaking news. For that reason they have to distinguish themselves from other newspapers by competing instead with in-depth coverage and comment on the news since they have more time to investigate and elaborate on the topics.

It is to be noted that although having a more balanced representation of the Other is hard due to the difference in cultural frames and the time constraint under which Journalists work, achieving that goal is not impossible. What is needed, first and foremost, is taking the Other's voice and point of view into account. Secondly, journalists should try to understand the Other's point of view without invoking their own preconceived opinions.

In conclusion, this research revealed that the world need not be viewed in binary terms as is the case in the attitude of some Western newspapers: the *Times*, the *Post*, *die SDZ*, and *die Welt*. It should be recognized that the West is not innocent and all "good", and Middle Easterners are not all "bad". Such "preferred" or "dominant" stereotypes are, however, difficult to resist, and the likelihood of aberrant reading is reduced (Knight & Dean, 1982, p 146). Clearly, 4 out of 6 newspapers' editorials were framed in ways that reinforce particular stereotypical images of culture, polity and society. These images dovetail with the thematic clusters driven from the writings of the Orientalists.

It is to be noted that these findings are strictly limited to the corpus available and can not be extended or generalized without further research. Additionally, this study concentrated only on the word level and did not delve into other levels: analysis of semantic macrostructures, analysis of specific linguistic realizations (hyperbolas, litotes), and maybe most importantly the analysis of context. Finally, this study would be enriched if it is complemented by another study of the editorials of the same newspapers commenting on the Middle East prior to September 11.

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